CHAPTER FIVE

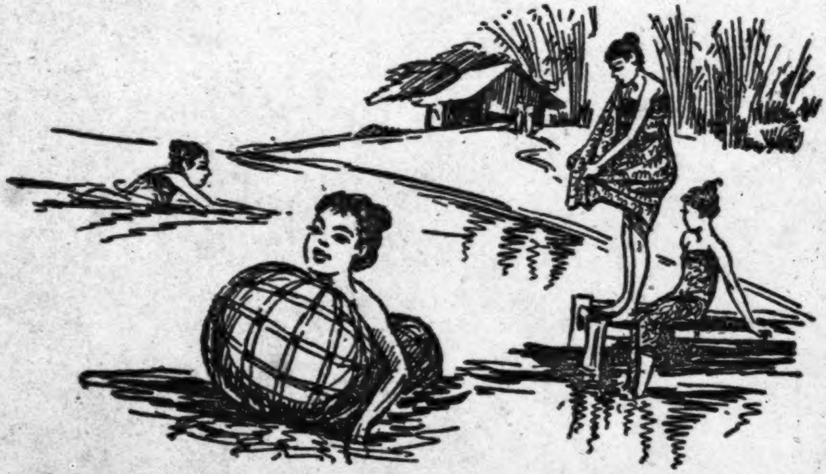
000 WHEN I was about five years old, my young brother, the third child of the family, died suddenly and created a gap of about seven years between me and the next child. My elder brother and I thus grew up apart from my younger sisters for a good part of our childhood.

357 524 Two boys were brought up to play with my brother and help my mother with the garden: I was given Mya Shwe to play with. A-Shwe and I were very attached to each other and liked the same games. Burmese children are not as interested in dolls, balls, animals and other toys of the European child; our treasures were chiefly in the form of seeds which play the same part in Burmese children's games as balls do in Western games. We had *go-nyin*, round flat seeds about two inches wide, from a jungle creeper which grew in my grandmother's garden in Ye. We rolled these along the ground to hit other go-nyins, like ninepins. When the family ate custard apples we collected all the seeds and washed them. These seeds provided us with several games; we scattered them in front of us and tried to flick as many as possible into a hole dug into the ground, or sometimes to flick each seed to touch another, removing one each time it touched until we could clear all the scattered seeds.

524 262 We could do this with tamarind seeds too: these were pretty black shining ones. We could get them from the kitchen but always preferred to take one of the boys on walks to tamarind trees. Hla Aung climbed the tree and brought down a cluster of fruits surrounded by delicate feathery leaves. We took a packet of salt along and ate the acid fruit dipped in salt, against all orders; we shredded the leaves till we got a big pile, wrapped them with the rest of the salt in stout paper, buried it a few inches in the ground and then all took turns at jumping on the spot, shouting: "*Bok-hsi-yay-Hsan, Hsan*: Oh pressed oil, come sprinkle, sprinkle." The moisture from the fresh leaves came out with the stamping and dissolved the salt, making a lovely savoury mess of the crushed leaves which we unearthed after a while and ate greedily. Then A-Shwe and I carried home the seeds to add to our collection.

524 301 *Kha-yay si* also we collected. These are seeds of the *kha-yay*, a tall tree which scatters its ripe fruit on to the ground where they lie until they dry, and shed their flesh and leave the seeds hidden amongst the

526 After the bath a dry longyi is slipped on over the wet one which is then
291 washed clean straight away. The poorest, who do not always possess a
515 spare longyi, sometimes let themselves into a stream gradually, lifting the longyi higher as they go in, and when the water is bosom-high they keep the garment on their head, letting it down again as they emerge. Our use for the adaptability of the longyi was to stand on a diving platform with it opened wide at the bottom, jump feet first and let the air rush in, nicking the longyi in at the ankles as we struck the water. This makes you land with a balloon which floats you for a minute or two like those swollen celluloid ducks in babies' tubs. My friend Tin Tin Thoung was just like a swan on these occasions; she was not pretty normally, being very thin and angular, but she had a long and graceful neck, and when she floated on the water, gliding along with her neck rising out of her big round longyi, she looked like a beautiful swan to me.



•[262] After bathing, the Taik Wans' mother had basketfuls of Indian corn, the tender ones boiled and the tougher ones roasted, and dishes of the peeled marians doused in fish sauce awaiting us.

881 Besides these social visits there were special festivals that came with
585 the months, and occasions common to every family's history—the ear-boring of the girl, the initiation into the priesthood of the boy, and marriages of grown-up children—which had to be celebrated in traditional forms. Most minkadaws preferred to hold marriage ceremonies in Rangoon, Moulmein or Mandalay to have as much fashion and show as possible, but the ear-boring (*nadwin*) and initiation into priesthood (*shinbyu*) find a better background in country towns. Nadwin is the coming of age of a girl, not for marriage, but for the initiation into the pleasant vanities of a woman's life. It is fine enough to sit with a rich

792 and Grandfather called my cousin Ko Lu Pe to read it. My cousin had
871 been at a government school for some years and though he could read
177. and write English with some ease, he stuck at the word "circumcise".
87 "What!" exploded Grandfather, "five years learning English, and you
can't even read a telegram. This education is quite useless." Whereupon he took the grandchildren and his two young sons out of their schools until his wrath subsided and they quietly started attendance again. It is a popular stage joke also, the B.A. who returns to his village and is asked in good faith by the hpongyi to mend a villager's watch that has gone wrong. The graduate confesses that he cannot mend it. The monk is horrified: "What, passed B.A. and cannot mend a watch?"

527 So now on my father's birthday the monks ask jokingly and kindly
792 about our school subjects. Their meal is laid out on a low round table,
574 and consists of all the good things my mother can think of, for they have only one main meal in the day. Rice and meat and vegetable dishes are followed by fruit, sweet milky coffee, sweet English cakes. The monastery boys are given their meal outside; the monks, after eating, rise and go, and the boys follow them bearing away the gifts for the monastery. At once there is a general shuffling into more relaxed positions, conversation swells out, we start to scamper around and help to wheel in more round tables. Then everybody eats, and my father feels a deep sense of well-being.

805 Our lunar calendar has twelve months in its year, beginning the new year about the middle of April with the month of *Tagu*. Each month contains the twenty-nine to thirty days of the moon's cycle, but the dates are numbered with only 15 numbers—15 waxing days starting from the crescent of the new moon: *la-hsan ta-yet, la-hsan hna-yet*, new moon first day, second day and so on, until the 15th and full moon day, *la-pyit nay:* after which come the waning days, *la-hsot*. With this system, we are 12 or 13 days short of the 365 each year, and hence every second year there occurs a double month of *Waso*, in July and August, which month also starts our Lent. Lent lasts the three months of the monsoon, until *Thadingyut*, in October, when we see it out with lights, feasting and
796 much merriment. For the observance of festivals such as New Year
262 and Thadingyut we usually visited relatives, but certain other observances came round each year to us in our own home.

Such is *htamanè-hto*, the making of a comestible known as *htamanè* in vast quantities, for distribution on the first full moon after the harvest. On the full moon night of *Tabodwè* in January-February, the villagers sit up all night in big parties of men and women singing and joking as they make all preparations for the cooking that is to take place by dawn. The basis of htamanè is a glutinous rice called *kaukhnyin*, always

associated with fresh country mornings, dew on the grass and smoke from 796
the wood fire, men and women with cheroots and red striped blankets 262
flung over them grouped around the fire. A favourite way of eating kaukhnyin is to put it with a little salt into a bamboo stick that has been cut with a knotch to form a bottom, stop the top with a cork of paper and then roast it over a fire. By the time the stick is about to scorch, the rice is cooked and stuck together in a long tube held by a thin white skin from the inside of the bamboo. Cracked open and eaten with fried chicken it is delicious clean food; the best "kaukhnyin legs" and fried chicken were produced at Letpadan, in Tharawaddy district, for many years running. Other kaukhnyin eaters steam it with beans, pile it on lacquer trays and walk around to sell it in the early mornings about six o'clock, serving it on banana leaves, with sesamum salt and shredded coconut sprayed on top.

But htamanè is made ceremonially only once a year. Work parties of women used to come to our house the day before and sit under the trees cutting coconut and ginger into thin slices, shelling peanuts, picking husks out of the kaukhnyin, and winnowing this and the sesamum in cane trays. At about four the next morning my mother and the rest of the household got up, and helped by one or two of the young men from other houses, they made fires under the trees, put the kaukhnyin in big pans, with oil and all the prepared ingredients, and cooked if for hours, taking turns to stir the sticky mixture all the time while the others sat around the fire smoking and talking. In the early morning we put the htamanè into dishes for the monasteries and all the houses in the neighbourhood, into tins for sending away to relatives in other towns, and store-jars for keeping in the house to eat between meals.

These accounts of our life in the districts are of ceremonies and 647
celebrations so far because I was a child in those days. My parents had their own pattern of life with a background of work. My father, as I have said, belonged to the Burma Civil Service, Class II. The administrative services in Burma included three grades of Civil Services: the I.C.S., which became the Burma Civil Service I after separation from India, the B.C.S., which then became B.C.S. II, and the Subordinate Civil Service. These three services supplied the executive administrative officers who were placed in charge of the various-sized units of administration, helped in their government by judicial administrative officers of corresponding ranks, and by officers for police, forests, education, excise and other public services for which a separate recruitment was made.

The myookship which my father obtained in 1912 was the most 647
junior of these posts, usually filled by members of the Subordinate Civil 631

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had
693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to
a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space
177 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk
164 and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: "*A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent.
[501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were
[442] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo attic made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden,
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. This they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

1: Mi Mi Khaing 1-5 (no date) 1946 AP1 Burma
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taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew 244
and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condemnation 262
in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists
from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast 226
quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our 438
yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a
paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all
our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with
his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats
and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were
fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up
the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked.
The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and
again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less
smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmway-dè*,
fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste
is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat
and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to
provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief
source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui
supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt
needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce
about 6,000 tons annually.

It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us 528
in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were 177.
to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at 55
Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen 593
our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we
had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my
young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she
went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there
was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger
ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the 593
eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to 177.
the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother 57
gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give
our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude
shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three
call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya
Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

children such as were playing about them. We were ready-made reproductions 528 sent back by my father and Uncle San Lin *who disappeared* 177 into an unknown world many years ago. At house after house, and at the same houses year after year, we sat in a row on the benches they kept on the verandahs of all houses, eight children awkward and restrained, while the old people peered and chuckled at us: "Yes, that is 827 San Lin, all right—but there is Htwa Yin's nose; look at this expression, it is Maung Chit Kaing himself—oh but look here, here is the image of Maung Pyant, yes, exactly Maung Pyant, hullo you little Pyant, oh, look at her." This was my poor sister Mya Mya whose face seemed to be the quintessence of the features of my father and all his brothers and sisters. My sister Aye and I, who had the good fortune to take after my mother's family, were noticed very little during these visits, but my poor little Mya Mya sat there solemn and unhappy, thrusting her face out until even to us she looked comically like the forty-year-old aunts and uncles.

When I think back on eating the fruits of Grandmother's garden, 245 they seem to have the quality of some heavenly ambrosia about them. 262 They were all such luscious fruits. For example, the durian, the fruit 824 which foreigners describe as smelling most foul, usually had in Rangoon only a thin layer of the precious golden flesh around the seeds. In this garden we ate only *shwe-dinga* durians, gold-sovereign durians, whose flesh was so soft and full that a gold coin could be stood on edge on the seed and be buried in it. Moreover, the eating of durians in excess was usually discouraged anywhere else, because of the heating qualities of the fruit, but here they grew beside the cooling mangosteen, which we always ate after the durian. This delicious fruit never travels successfully; even from district to district it gets bruised and stained. The mangosteen tree was most exciting to me as a child. It was full of dark foliage and the distilled nectar of the snow-white fruit seemed to be enclosed in bitterness and fraught with dangers, for the thick skin which contains tannin was bitter, its stain was indelible and to be kept carefully away from our clothes, and the fruit itself was said to be poisonous when eaten with sugar. This was owing to the belief that the sap of the rind made a toxic combination with sugar. Even the coconuts in Ye had a succulence about them. They were so abundant in the garden that we discarded all the fruit in which the meat had hardened beyond the *zun-chit*, the "spoon-scrape", stage when the flesh was of such tenderness that it could be scraped up with a spoon as a transparent jelly, to be put into the drink of coconut water. We were encouraged to drink this because it was said to make the heat "kick" and come out of the system. The grains of the pomeloes also were swollen

245 262 824 and pink with juice; we shredded them in piles and ate them with prawn powder and fish sauce. The *kanazo*, the *baccaurea sapida*, gave us a fruit of a mouth-watering sweet-sourness. This fruit was said to induce diarrhœa and we were always made to eat the white piths which had a binding action.

262 Whereas we feasted on the fruits of trees, our elders turned to the sea for more fleshly succulence. My mother and aunts loved to get turtles' eggs, nastily soft white things the size of golf balls, boil them and tear them open to spill their richness on to a plate of boiled rice; they got oysters swimming soft and cold in vinegar; big nga-tha-lauk, hilsa fish, bursting with fatness, and thick buffalo's milk which always seemed to us more meaty and strong than cow's milk.

796 772 775 We came back to Ye itself for the New Year festival. The New Year in our lunar calendar usually occurs round about April 13th, and is the occasion of the descent of a spirit-king, the Tha-gya Min, king of the tha-gyas, from heavenly regions to the world of men. The Burman Buddhist idea of the universe places the hellish, the earthly and the heavenly regions in well-defined order. In the centre of the universe is Mount Myinmo, the highest peak in all the world, a million miles above the sea and a million below the waters. Round about the sides of this mountain are ranged the six levels of heavenly regions where the Dewas or heavenly spirits dwell. These heavenly spirits also have homes in the sun, moon and stars. Far up in the heavens, above the seats of the Dewas, are ranged the sixteen seats of more perfect beings, the Byammas, one above the other. And far above them, as high as the imagination can soar, are four sublime seats, on the borders of the supreme Nirvana. Below the six levels of the Dewa regions of Myinmo are seven ranges of mountains, girdling the earth in a perfect ring interposed only by seven seas. In these seas are set four great islands, to the north, south, east and west of Myinmo Mountain, each attended by five hundred small islands grouped around it. On each island grows a fabulous tree which gives its name to the island, and dwell beings whose heads are shaped like the shape of the island. The northern, eastern and western islands are all more fair than the southern, life lasts for five hundred or a thousand years, and the trees bear gorgeous dresses and delicious foods of meat, but the inhabitants of the southern islands are infinitely more blessed in their merit. This island of Zampudipa, shaped like a trapezium and bearing the Zampu tree, surrounded by five hundred islands where live the English and the other nations of the human world, is the abode of man, the Buddhist man, and the known neighbours who are heretics from Buddhism. Here the inhabitants must work to weave their clothes and cook their food and

796 yellow flowers against the rich dark green leaves, either water from the
137 water throwers or the *tha-gyan mo*, the thingyan showers. Light showers
usually fall about this time although the monsoon is far off yet; they come
● 132 from a small low pressure area over the land although when we were
821 young it seemed to be part of what the true tha-gyan se leaflets should
promise, a foretaste of the coolness of the real monsoon, and a recognition of Tha-gya Min's presence. If the rain was late in falling, the villagers set to work to hurry it on. The rain spirits live in the stars but they sometimes come out to play with each other in the space of the firmament. Then rain falls on the earth. But at other times, when the sun is not in the right quarter, they stay indoors and the earth receives only the scorching heat of the sun. Men can then rouse the rain spirits to show more energy and come out, by the beating of tin cans and by exerting energy themselves in a tug-of-war. In Ye, the upper street and the lower street used to put up teams for this and tugging was carried on amidst betting and cheering and the beating of empty kerosene tins by women and children around.

796 The girls and youths from the monastery returned at about noon,
● 262 wet and happy and dragging the branches of *ngu* along. Throughout the
day the children ran into the street to pour water on passers-by; bullock carts went by, decorated with ngu branches and holding music and water parties of young men and girls, the young men richly painted and dancing in the open carts; rival teams drew up and staged water-fights in the street or went to besiege houses where beautiful girls with a reputation for coldness or coyness were hiding. Throughout the day, also, dishes of sweetmeats arrived, for each house does the good act of making a comestible in large quantities for distribution. Ours was made on the second day and was a Moulmein speciality for which my mother had the best talent. This *tha-gyan hta-min*, thingyan rice, sounds insipid when described as boiled rice, eaten floating in cold water which has been made fragrant, to the accompaniment of green mango salad and saltfish shredded and fried crisp. To us, of course, it is delicious. The water has received an infusion of the aroma from an earthen pot which is turned upside down over the burning of tallow and fragrant woods. The rice is not the moist steamy rice of meal times but has been drained after cooking, on tray-sieves of cane, and the grains lie clear and separate and whole. The delight of eating thingyan rice in the hot weather is indescribable to foreigners, perhaps even to all non-Moulmein people, eating it in wide china bowls, with china spoons, alternating the concentration of sour and salt tastes of mango and saltfish with the coolness and cleanness of the rice and its water. We could eat this throughout the day; being thingyan rice it carried a blessedness which made us immune

to stomach ache, in the same way as it would be graceless to think that 796
one could catch cold from the playing of thingyan water. 262

During the three days of the festival communal celebrations were
also carried on, with shows and free feasting every night at pandals put 796
up by each section of the streets. By the *a-tetnay*, rising day, when the 861
Tha-gya Min goes back to the heavenly regions, everyone was a bit
worn out, but the more energetic spirits declared that Tha-gya Min had
forgotten his pipe or umbrella and had come back for one day more to
fetch it. People try not to tell lies, quarrel, swear or lose their tempers
during the days of the New Year. Apart from the offence it would give
to the ears of the heavenly visitor in the vicinity it was considered a bad
omen to begin the new year with such wicked behaviour. Children were
always warned not to be disobedient in case the Tha-gya Min should
note it, but the reason was also that the grown-ups should not be forced
to scold them during this period. Woe to the servant maid who blunders
then; greater woe indeed for her sin in causing the mistress to scold her
and use angry words.

The years saw little change in the social programme of our visits to 000
Ye, but in the absence of social changes, the human element always seemed more strong and primitive, and all the drama and romance of which we had so little in our placid district houses was concentrated in Ye. Life there seemed more full of physical movement and danger, anger was more strong, love more sweeping, quarrels more deep and lasting than we were used to. Births, deaths, disease and elopements all seemed to happen more frequently. It was all terror, excitement and romance to us.

A robbery at any of the houses in the village woke the whole quarter 674
up, house by house, as the screams from there were taken up by frightened neighbours. My male cousins and all the men of the village hitched their longyis up around their loins, ran hither and thither in the night, with lanterns in one hand and dahs in the other. The womenfolk, as soon as the men had rushed out to the rescue, barricaded their doors and collected together in a whispering group, lest the fleeing robber should dodge into an open doorway in the shuttered line and demand silence and shelter at the point of his dah. On these occasions when we huddled together already terror-stricken, my grandmother recounted her story of the time when she failed to shut her door in time, and the robber was in the shadow of it as she went forward to fold it. "Not a word," he said, showing his blade. "Look out and see which way they have gone. Are they there? How many? Is the street clear? Don't talk loud." In this way Grandmother helped the felon to escape. Once or twice during the day we saw a saung, a blanket

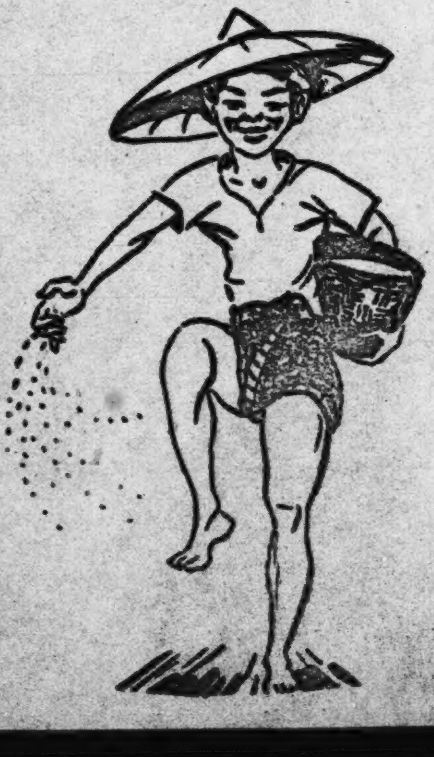
249 kept a manager and his family in the bungalow of each plantation, and a
311 staff of eight or nine tappers. Once a week we drove out there on a
439 picnic inspection; my father and mother gazed with pride on the rows of neat trees, walked right round to see that clearings were maintained and that the trees looked right, peered into the cups of rich white latex, administered rebukes and instructions and inspected the books, visited the smoking house and saw the brown smoked sheets with GK stamped on them, after the traditional Burmese way of married business—G for Gyi, my mother, and K for Kaing, my father—and then we all returned home. Chinese traders came to the house and while chewing betel they talked about quantities and prices of the stock we had. Then the stacked sheets came from the plantation in the two bullock carts which we kept there, and the traders came and took them away and paid us in cash. Business was something so foreign to what we had always seen our parents doing, and this all seemed so simple, that we always felt they were surely being cheated.

245 Some of the other pensioners did not believe in dabbling with com-
438 modities that depended on a world market. Even the way in which we
grew rubber went too much into the world of specialized commerce
• 262 which might have pitfalls for a retired civil servant. A friend of my father's grew large gardens of *da-nyin*, a tree of the laburnum species. The fruit of this tree rivals the durian for its nauseating effect on foreign sensibilities. It does not exude a smell as the durian does, until you eat it, but after eating it the smell comes out in breath, sweat and all other excretions. But it is one of our favourite foods. It is a small flat circular fruit of a hard and smooth consistency, enclosed in a shell which prises open in neat halves like an oyster shell. The texture and taste are delicious. We boil or bake it as a vegetable for fish sauce, we salt it in big jars as a pickle, we beat it and make it swim in coconut milk and eat it as a sweet, we bury it and make it sprout into a more pungent form called *da-nyin wet*. The main point is that it is eaten in vast quantities. It also contains substances which are good for diabetics, and families buy it literally in hundreds. No world depression interferes with the demand for *da-nyin thi*, and though the sale price is low, overhead charges are almost nil.

243 Other families in Thaton got their extra income from paddy-land.
438 Although the rice for which Burma is so famous today did not enter
556 world markets till the latter half of the last century, the possession of
262 *le*, fields, which is synonymous with paddy-fields, is a well established form of wealth. Our part of Burma is particularly rich in fields. Nearly all the 3,500,000 tons of rice which is exported annually from Burma comes from Lower Burma, where Tenasserim Division ranks among the

three most productive areas, and Thaton district takes first place in 243
Tenasserim. But rice is more than the chief export crop of the country 438
to us. It is our *wun-sa*, food for the womb, our staple food; and we have 556
depended so much on it that we pay it reverence, almost. When we 262•
were young, A-Kyi and our nurses never allowed us to tread on any rice
that had been spilt; rice was like a master and human beings its servants,
they said. The phrase for "I was not born yesterday" is "I grew [181]
up eating rice", and in the same way excessive stupidity excites wonder that the person nourished on rice can be so stupid. Through years of journeying on trains, bullock carts, and river steamers, we have seen the peaceful green fields, the dry reaped corn, the golden grain heaped on small canoes before milling. Though we did not know the toil and the uncertain hopes of the cultivators, we followed the growth of the life-giving grain through all its stages, seeing the first sproutings in one place in one year, the ripe and mature crop in another, and the thriving young stalks of a later generation in another place and time.

Our fields seemed perpetually marked into small beds by ridges six 243
inches high. Lying empty during the first months of the year, these beds grew parched and baked by April and May. With the first blessed showers of the monsoon about mid-May, however, one, two, three, four or more inches of rain fell on the beds within about ten days, and softened the hard crust. Men went to work about the end of the month, and with harrow and plough they chopped and churned up the earth, cutting and burying weeds, refining the rough, and making the stiff clay soil pliant until a soft fine mud was produced. In the meantime, the seeds had been soaked in water in deep layers between banana leaves, to make them sprout and become more receptive of the soil's richness. These were brought out in baskets, and young men and women wearing wide bamboo hats in the heavy showers, walked about scattering them, using up to ten basketfuls in one acre. They allowed the seeds to lie for a few



264 511 This is for the fresh bazaar, most families storing rice, saltfish and ngapi, and sesamum oil for cooking, by the month or longer periods.

252 • 262 The rice is cooked to result in clean and separate grains. The usual method is to put it on the fire with cold water, using judgment as to the amount of grain and water for the pot. A person who cannot "cut his coat according to his cloth" is "*ko-oh hnin ko hsan ma-tan bè :* his grain and pot do not accord". When, after coming to the boil, the rice is cooked but not yet soft, it is drained by decanting; the water is kept aside for starching the jackets of the women in the daily wash, and the pot is put back on to coals or half off a fire, with the lid left open to let the steam escape and complete the cooking of the rice. It is shaken once or twice during this process, but there is no harm done if a bad servant forgets to do this or puts the pot back on a strong fire, for then the burnt rice is scraped up in a cake (*gyo*) and is eaten, dipped in oil and salt, by the children with great relish.

The soup is always clear. The great majority of soups are plain hingyos, with a stock of fish, prawn or dried prawn; flavoured with ngapi, beaten garlic or onion. It is made fresh for each soup, and when it comes to the boil, green vegetables are thrown in and left just long enough to wear down the tough cellulose. The vegetables are never overcooked. Throwing in the vegetables is called *hingyo hkut-tè*, ladling out the soup, and the green things for ladling are numerous indeed. Of leaves, the tamarind, the sorrel, the drumstick (*moringa pterygosperma*), the *kinmun*, the calabash, the mustard, various types of spinach, are only some. Some particular leaves, stalks or fruits require adaptations in the soup they ladle; for example, green chillies with the sorrel, pepper corns with the calabash; and the neem and *mezali* leaves are so bitter that they must be rubbed in salt and cooked three times before they can be eaten. All leaves used for soup have a distinct and delicate flavour. If the soup were strained after the leaves had been boiled in it a few minutes, one could still identify the taste. Richer soups are made with stock of meat—pig's trotters, chicken or duck—and are ladled with dried mushrooms, dried flowers or vermicelli strands, transparent and fair as the lotus.

263 [438] The ngapi, condiment, dish has several standard forms. "Ngapi" is the general term applied to any of its forms. Usually it comes to the housewife as seinsa ngapi, from Tenasserim, such as is made by my aunts in Ye, or from Yandoon in the Delta region. This high-smelling, strongly flavoured paste is stored in glazed earthen jars and flavours almost all dishes or is cooked into its own palatable forms. It is fried with chillies and pounded dried prawns into a crisp brownness, in which form Europeans like it as a toast spread which they call *balachaung*. It

263 tastes something like the product known as Patum Peperium or Gentleman's Relish. More Burmese is *ngapi-chet* (ngapi cooked), when it is fried in a more oily and moist form with tomatoes, tamarind water, green chillies, red chillies, garlic and onion; or *ngapi-daung* (ngapi pounded), when it is pounded into a smooth paste with prawns, ginger, onion and chilly; or *ngapi-thok* (ngapi mixed), when it is made into a salad by baking it dry and then mixing chopped onion, green chillies and citron leaves and a squeeze of lemon.

262 252 The to-sa-ya, dipper dish, to dip into the ngapi, of raw green vegetables, consists of leaves, flowers, buds, stalks, and young fruit of all kinds—green mangoes when they are the size of marbles, mango flowers, green marians, *danyin-thi*, citron leaves, coriander leaves, cucumbers, *zaung-ya-thi*, *chep-paung-thi*, and a host of others which can be plucked by villagers from hedges or gardens or jungle patches. The dressed vegetable dish may be a *lethok* or a *thanat*. Lethok, hand-wiping-or-mixing, is a mixture of finely shredded or cut vegetable (say green papaya, grown green mango, marian or citron) with the balancing ingredients of oil for mixing smoothly; dried prawn powder and bean powder for filling; tamarind water for sourness if fruit is not sour; ngapi or fish sauce for salting; green or powdered red chilly for spicing; and crisp fried garlic and onion to set off and dress the whole. In a thanat we can make the orthodox cauliflower, cabbage, brinjals, beans, etc., into a delicious dish by boiling them with vinegar and water till they are not quite cooked, draining them, rolling them in cooked oil in which salt and a little baked ngapi have been dissolved, scattering sesame seeds and crisp fried garlic and onion. Some vegetables which have a natural succulence are made into thanat uncooked. They are cut up, soaked in vinegar for some hours, drained well and dressed in the same way. Cucumber and horse-radish treated thus are delicious and crunchy. Besides being made into salads, vegetables are "fried". This is not fat frying. Only the seasoning, consisting of a small quantity of chopped pork or shrimps, crushed garlic and ngapi, is fried in the merest fraction of sesamum oil, then the bean sprouts, cabbage or what not, chopped small, are spread over it. This is called *ok-tè*, covering with the vegetable; the lid is put on and the vegetable cooks in the steam from its own water content. Just before taking it off the fire, it is stirred with soya sauce, and, if taken off the fire at the correct moment, cauliflower, cabbage, beans and beansprouts are delicious. Some vegetables lend themselves to an extension of this method in the *kyaw-gyet*, fry-cook, what the English Domestic Science schools call a "combination method" of cooking. Here the fried seasoning ingredients are stronger flavoured, water is

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added after the vegetable, and a dish which is half soup, half curry is produced. Gourds are often cooked in this way.

The "curry" is called curry for want of a better word. The Burmese hin does not contain the spices usually associated with hot curries. The standard hin is the *hsi-byan*, oil-returns-curry, in which the seasoning and gravy are produced by pounded chilly, ginger, garlic and onion, fried in oil which has first been cooked free of moisture. This is fried brown while the meat is diced and rolled in salt and a little turmeric. Then the meat is put in and cooked till all its moisture has gone and the "oil returns". Then small quantities of water are added and the pot left until the meat is tender. The chief meats used are pork, chicken and duck. Beef and mutton are not liked generally, and many families, who wish to deny themselves the eating of the flesh of one animal in order to gain merit, give up beef. The curry described here is only the stock recipe. There are numerous special meat dishes, steamed, roasted, sauted. But it is fish and prawn that Burmese people love best. We have a great variety of sea and freshwater fish, each lending itself to special forms of cooking, from the richest nga-tha-lauk, through *nga-myin*, *ŋga-gyin*, *nga-ponna*, *nga-the-lè-do*, to the black and cheap *nga-gyi* and *nga-khu*. Crabs and crayfish with the lovely red oil in their heads; nga-myin cooked with ginger and soya sauce to make a "sweet" dish or with tamarind and ground chilly to make a peppery one; *nga-hpa-ma* cooked with vinegar and citronella grasses and green chillies into a thick soup, or *nga-yan*, cooked with tamarind water and vegetables into a minestrone; nga-tha-lauk baked so that the flesh is rich and full, but the numerous bones made so soft that they are no longer dangerous to swallow, or nga-khu fried so crisp as to give only a crunch and no taste; nga-ponna cooked into a hsi-byan curry with coriander leaves on top of the fishes, or *nga-bat* cooked and stirred into a flaked consistency; *nga-pè* whose white flesh is kneaded with salt into a glutinous slab to fry in slices, or nga-gyin wrapped in banana leaves with strong flavouring ingredients and steamed in packets until it is ready to melt in your mouth. In their daily meals Burmese people relish the odd parts of animals rather than their flesh—the liver and crop of chickens and ducks, the trotters of pigs, the guts of goats, the entrails of freshwater and, indeed, the heads, tails, fins and roe of all fish.

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Besides providing us with rich daily meals, my aunt found great delight in buying vast quantities of foods which were seasonal or only to be bought in certain areas. Mushrooms appearing about May were bought literally in basketfuls, each basket being fifteen inches wide and fifteen high. These were cooked in various ways and eaten by family and servants for about three days on end or longer, until someone

suffered from the accumulated toxic effects. Kyi-Kyi also spent days 262 in extracting the red oil from the heads of about fifty crayfish or big prawns. This red stuff gives the flavouring to prawns and we therefore find prawn curries tasteless where the cooks discard the oil with the teeth and other excretions from the heads. Kyi-Kyi filled jars with the rich oil and we kept it through weeks, mixing it with rice and salt. Or she bought about two hundred sparrows at one go and stripped and cooked them unaided. It does not sound sporting to eat sparrows, but the meat of other bigger and more "game" birds is too strong for us. Sparrows when fried crisp are edible to the last shred of bone, little round head and all. It was one of our favourite foods during visits to Thaton, until [157] after my littlest sister got measles and had her head shaved according to custom; when she went about looking so pathetically like the naked birds in the dish that none of us, from my father downwards, could bear to eat a sparrow for a long time afterwards.

All the dishes mentioned above are eaten with rice at the two main meals of the day, but there are also noodle dishes, both wheat and rice noodles, coconut-flavoured dishes and others which are eaten at luncheon parties or at mass gatherings of town and village people. At all social functions, also, there is an accompaniment to the cheroots and the betel box [276] in the form of pickled tea-leaf and shredded pickled ginger served in small lacquer trays with nuts, sesamum, prawn powder, fried coconut and garlic. These are all foods eaten at regular times of the day, and as such can be called *sa-sa-ya* foods. But we have not yet ventured into the realm of sweet things, for after a meal only fruit is eaten. All sweet dishes are kept to be eaten *between* meals, and as such are called *tha-yay-sa*, food for the saliva, and only incidentally for nourishment.

Tha-yay-sa usually means something sweet because there are so many sweet ones, but what does produce more saliva than any other are the sour ones. A favourite Burmese afternoon pastime is the eating of sour and green fruit with ngapi and chilly, in order to offset the drowsiness of the heat. Green mangoes, marians, chep-paung-thi, *yay-ngan-thi*, *gwe*-thi, *thit-to-thi* range through all degrees of sourness till you come to *ton-kyin-thi*, shiver-sour-fruit, so sour that you shiver when you bite it. On rainy afternoons we felt too chilly to eat these and nibbled at things with a nutty flavour. Roots, tubers, seeds and nuts are eaten dipped in raw sesamum oil and salt—the roots of the palmyra, and of a bean (*pè-myit*), arrowroot and sweet potatoes, chestnuts and the boiled seeds of the jack tree. But when we come to the real sweetmeats, what richness, what variety is there! As exiles of the Japanese War, we collect in parties to eat uninteresting and foreign foods, but after the meal we gather round and add flavour to the whole evening as we list all the

• 262 tha-yay-sa we used to eat, some of them not since we were children—and excitement and salivation and comfort in each other's company mount as one after another throws in a fresh contribution to the list, bringing back with sharp delight some half-forgotten taste from a childhood paradise. The names of our sweetmeats are all descriptive of something, their appearance, consistency, composition, or associations which they have, so that the mere recitation of them gives one delight. Sweets which are in balls: *Mon-pein-nè-si, mon-lon-yay-paw, mon-longyi, kalapè-so:* cake jackseeds, cake-balls floating, big cake-ball, cake-wee-gram-balls. Those that are in round wafer shapes: *mon-pyissa-lè, mon-hsi-kyaw, bein-mon, mon-lè-bway:* worthless cake, fried-in-oil cake, wheel cake, whirlwind cake, which can be crushed into a mouthful from a circumference of about fifteen inches. Those that come as noodly bits of flour or grain, lathered or drowned in coconut juices: *mon-laing-daung, mon-lok-saung, mon-hsan:* cake in stick pieces, cake made by covering, cake sprinkled. Those rich cakes of flour, nuts and raisins which are cut in diamond shapes from slabs twenty inches in diameter: *hsa-nwin ma-kin, kyauk-chaw, pa-thein halawa, mon-kywè-thè* or *mon-ka-lame:* cake-not-free-from-turmeric, cake-smooth-as-marble, Bassein cake, cake-buffaloes'-liver or cake-black-Indian, so black and glossy is it. Or those that come in shapes of things: *mon-leit-pya, mon-let-kauk, bi-mon, daung-kwa-mon:* cake-butterfly, cake-bangle, comb cake, peacock's hoof cake. These sweets range through all consistencies from compressed cake form to almost liquid jelly; their ingredients are from sources as widely apart as the fruit of the palmyra palm and the groundnut. Most of them are freshly made, and women and men sellers walk around with them during the hours between breakfast and dinner, from about 11 a.m. to 5 p.m.

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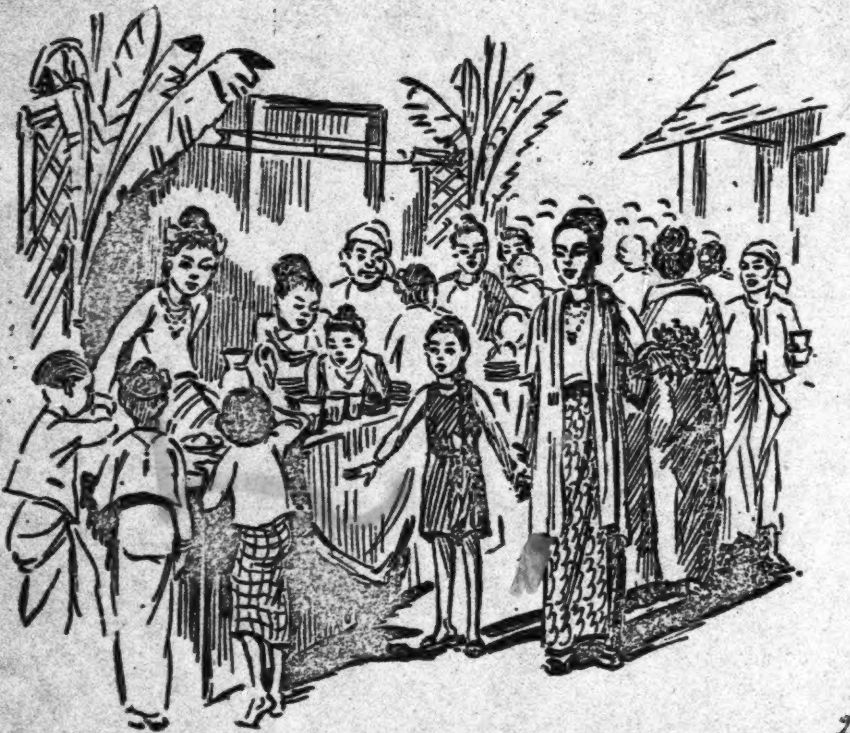
527 Sometimes a child sees a miracle when all these delights are gathered before its eyes and ready only for the asking. This is at a *Neibban Zay*, a Nirvana Bazaar, a paradise on earth to the child. Kyi-Kyi once took me and my small sister to a Neibban Zay when the rest of the family were away. In the absence of my mother's more sophisticated tastes, Kyi-Kyi smeared thanakha all over Pusu's body, dressed her only in a petticoat and wooden slippers so that she should keep as cool as possible and led her by the hand to Nirvana. Three streets of householders were giving a free feast to the town; each house had a stall before it and was serving a different mon from the next. Children wandered up and down, stopping before the sweet they liked best, stuffing themselves to their heart's content, because the Neibban Zay was being given as a work of merit and grown-ups would not interfere with the distribution of charity. Never shall I forget my Pusu walking up that street, her neck



craned and her eyes round with wonder and appetite, her thanakha legs 262 • 527
sticking out brown and chalky from under her white petticoat.

Hand in hand with the keen delight in the tastes of food goes our 262
interest in the physiological effects of foods. Thus medicine and food
are closely allied, and the good health of a normally constituted person 827
is maintained with very little reliance on bottled tonics, even among modern townspeople. For this reason, too, Burmese people often eat foods which are not altogether good for them but the taste of which they like, and they rely on the counteracting effect of the antidote food which is usually contained in the recipe. "Neutralization is more epicurean than prevention." Just as the cooling mangosteen is eaten after the heating durian, the pickled tea-leaf which contracts the menstrual flow of women is eaten with ginger, which, shredded and pickled in lemon juice and salt, can be eaten in large amounts to have a counteracting effect. Cucumber also causes *lay-hto-tè,* the wind-to-pierce in the body, but citron is *lay-naing-tè*, conquers wind. Citron leaves and cucumber are often seen on the some to-sa-ya plate. Mushrooms which have a toxic effect are cooked with the water-greens called *ga-zun-ywet,* which not only counteract the poison but also provide a neutralizing

262 827 green taste to the richness of mushrooms. When we were constipated, my mother gave us a sherbet of tamarind, sweetened with jaggery—the cooked sugar juices of the palmyra palm—both of which are purging. The sherbet tasted cool and delicious and the jaggery has, in addition, a soothing effect on the stomach and intestinal linings. Guavas are best eaten green and crisp, when they might give one a stomach ache, but in any case they taste better when dipped in yet-sa, the linctus powder with digestive properties. There are numerous other examples. A crowning one may be seen in the *zi-byu-thi*, the Indian gooseberry, which has an astringent taste that on drinking water leaves a clean sweetness in the mouth. The contracting effect of this on the menstruation of a woman is considered so great that some elders say: "A girl has but to sit under a zibyu tree for her menstruation to stop." College girls of Rangoon University used to eat these fruits by the pile, sucking the pungent juices out of each bite as they talked and talked, and then they all trooped out to the college food shop where they each ate one anna's worth of ginger salad and never knew any ill effects.

intended more as an excuse for people to enter the house and 592
have a talk than with any idea of making a profit. Whatever 444
money is drawn is regarded as a kind of pin-money for 562
the mistress of the establishment. When the ladies of the
household are in earnest about trading, they start a stall in
the bazaar, and very good hands they are at driving a bargain. 592
A more regrettable trait is the forcible character of their 444
language when they are annoyed. But this, unhappily, is a 562
characteristic of the fair sex all the world over, whether in 195
trade or out of it. Certain it is that the *dames de la halle*
and the Billingsgate fishwives would require all their powers
of voice and vituperation to silence a bazaar maiden when
she sets her mind to it. 264

There are as a general thing two meals only in the day: [illegible]62 ●
breakfast at about eight in the morning, and dinner at five
in the afternoon. There is no difference in the *menu* of the
two meals. The staple article of food is plain boiled rice,
which is piled up in a heap on a huge platter, round about
which the household arrange themselves, sitting, like pit-men,
on their heels. The curry which is taken with it is placed
in little bowls, and each one of the party has his own plate,
and helps himself. Knives are unnecessary; spoons and
forks and celestial chopsticks are unknown, except in the
houses of a few Government officials and traders in Rangoon,
who have had some experience of English society. Very
few are able to afford curries of meat or fish, besides that
there are not always unscrupulous people ready to disregard
the law against taking life, and the material is therefore not
always available. Ordinarily the curry consists of a soup,
or thin concoction of vegetables, in which chillies and onions
figure largely. The other ingredients are very various.
Young shoots of bamboo are very delicate in their flavour,
if not overpowered by too much garlic. Wild asparagus,
the succulent stems of a number of aquatic plants and fleshy
arums are constantly used, and may be seen exposed for sale
in every bazaar. Tamarind leaves and those of the mango-tree
are used by the very poor. The former have a somewhat
acrid taste, the latter are curiously aromatic. Along 263
with the curry, which has always a large amount of oil and
salt in it, there are a variety of condiments, notably the

243 and they are not the varieties most in favour with the Burmese
for their own consumption—there are at least thirty different
kinds. There is the byat sabā, the "tray" rice, which is
considered the best, but, like most of the other sorts, will not
stand the rough treatment of the steam mill-stones, and
breaks in pieces. Then there is the myi-she, which has a
long awn, and the myi-tôn, which has no awn at all; the
taung-pyan, "winged rice," and the nga-chywè, "buffalo
grain"; and so on through a long list, ending up with
"black rice," which is not by any means bad eating. But of
527 all the kinds, kauk-hnyin, "sticky rice," is the variety always
● 262 used at the harvest feast. It is mixed with thin sliced cocoanut,
sesamum seeds, ginger, onions, and pepper, all stirred
together and well boiled; and the resulting mess is called
tamanè. The rice is well named. It is very emphatically
sticky, and even when taken alone is not very easily digested;
but when it comes in the form of tamanè, the result is usually
a widespread attack of colic throughout the village. This,
however, comes after the festival, when the fun is all over,
and does not concern us in any way.

574 When the farmer has made up his mind as to the day
527 on which he is going to have the feast—a date which, of
[787] course, cannot be settled without consulting the wise men of
the village and much pondering over the palm-leaf horoscope
—he sends out a few boys with a number of packets of
"pickled tea" to all the young men in the place, requesting
them to be good enough to eat it and to come without fail
that night to his homestead in order to help him to husk his
rice for the tamanè hto-thi. A few girls are also asked to
come; and they bring their friends for the sake of company,
and the mothers follow for the sake of propriety. Thus there
is quite a large assemblage at the farmer's when night falls
and the business is to commence. There is a good deal of
preliminary tea-drinking and smoking of cheroots and chewing
of betel and le'hpet, and a great deal of laughing and
talking. The girls profess to be astonished to find so many
young men there; they had not imagined their host was
meditating such extensive preparations, and thought there
would be nobody there but his own and his wife's younger
brothers. That is exactly what they will say next week

231 their eggs in the silkworm's back and kill him. In about a
month's time the caterpillar is full grown. He is then
bundled into a fresh tray, in which there lies, wound about
in the form of a spiral, a narrow-plaited bamboo strip. The
ripe larvæ are thrown into this with as little ceremony as if
they were pebbles. In about a day's time they have spun
their cocoons, fastening them to the strips of bamboo. These
are torn off and kept in baskets for a day or two, when a
pot with water in it is filled with the pupæ, and then set to
simmer over a slow wood fire.

283 From a triangle over the pot is suspended a small bamboo
reel, and down below, near the pot, is a wooden cylinder.
The reeler is usually a girl. She fishes about for a time in
the simmering vessel, and, catching a few threads of silk,
passes them over the reel and down to the cylinder, to which
they are fastened. She then turns the handle of the cylinder,
winding on the silk, and at the same time constantly fishing
up and fastening on new filaments, which she does by means
of a light bamboo double-pronged fork. Not the least
trouble is taken to keep the silk clean. Any rubbish that
may be floating on the surface of the water is wound on to
the cylinder without an attempt being made to disengage it.
When all the silk has been got off the cocoons, and wound
on to the cylinder, the pupæ are taken out of the water and
● [262] fried in oil to furnish a dish for the family dinner. They
are not by any means unpleasant, tasting, barring the oil,
very much like roasted chestnuts; and indeed the dish is
considered a great dainty.

The silk-growers mostly sell their silk. A loom is to be
286 found in almost every Burman's house in the country; and
283 in Prome and Shwe-daung, as being close to the place where
386 the silk is produced, great quantities of articles of dress are
made for sale. The native-grown silk is only used for every-day
clothes of simple patterns, the more elaborate being all
[439] worked from imported Chinese silk. The silk is bought
raw, the separate filaments twisted into a thread by means
of a wheel, and then made up into hanks; these are boiled
in soap and water, and are then ready for the dye. The
commonest colours are green, yellow, orange, different shades
of red and light blue; black and dark blue are only in

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

every household in the town is occupied in the trade, is there any attempt at regular planting of nurseries. Nevertheless it is plentiful enough, and affords a magnificent spectacle when it is in flower—a huge forest tree covered so thickly with creamy-white blossoms that the leaves cannot be seen. The flowers have a fragrant scent not unlike that of apples, and the needy and practical Burman often makes a very acceptable curry of the buds. In full-grown trees the average height to the first branch is thirty feet, and the ordinary girth six feet from the ground is nine feet. Charcoal-burners have a predilection for the wood, which would not meet with approval in Japan; and it is much used for anchors and tool-helves, being very close and fine-grained. It is too heavy to float when green, but dried it is not particularly weighty. The sap may be collected at all times, except when the fruit is on the trees, from Pyatho to Tabaung—the first three months of the English year. Then it is thin and does not produce such a brilliant polish. The mode of collection is simple enough. Incisions are made in the stem, and the sap trickles into bamboos placed to catch it. When it is to be kept any time there must be a depth of two or three inches of water on the top, otherwise it would dry up and become solid. The water, however, does not improve it. The best varnish, called thi'si ayaungtin, is that which has been just drawn from the tree; the second quality contains twenty-five per cent of water, the inferior as much as fifty.

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The articles lacquered are chiefly drinking-cups and betel-boxes, the latter consisting of a cylindrical inner case, in which are fitted two or three trays for holding the lime, betel-vine leaves, cutch, nuts, and other ingredients for betel-chewing, the whole covered by an outer lid reaching to the bottom of the inner case. Ordinary kôn-it, betel-boxes, are three or four inches high and two and a half to three in diameter. Articles of the same shape are made of all sizes up to a couple of feet or more in height, these last being used for holding clothes and women's working materials. The bi-it, ladies' toilet-boxes, are often the most delicate and carefully worked. The actresses always carry splendid specimens about with them to contain their combs, oil, scent,

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 than any implying more of a religious character—assumes the appearance of a gigantic reception, or *conversazione.* Streets and quarters of the town make up a common purse for general decorations and the erection of stages for hired troupes of actors, in addition to individual effort. The dates are arranged beforehand so that no two streets shall make their effort on the same night, and so lessen the enjoyment of the public, or draw away from the expected number of spectators. A committee is elected, or appoints itself, and having got as much money as possible, hires the best available dancers and actors for the zat pwè, if possible a puppet troupe also, and in addition, as many unattached mummers and clowns as can be got, whose business it is to dance up and down the street in the guise of dragons, snakes, nagās, and demons of all sorts, and amuse such of the visitors as cannot get near enough to see the set play, or prefer walking about talking to their acquaintances. Bands are engaged in profusion, flower-garlanded arches erected at the ends of the street and at intervals along its length, and gay Chinese lanterns hung up everywhere. Complimentary packets of le'hpet, pickled tea, serving as invitations, are sent out in profusion, but the non-receipt of one of these does not deter anybody, and all comers of whatever nationality are welcome.

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262 Nowadays the monks are wont to complain that the presents customarily made them at the Tawadeintha feas are not nearly so valuable, or even so satisfactory, as they used to be. But it is different with the Sôndawgyi *fête.* There the emblems of the archetypal nogana are all edible and of the most sumptuous kind. In every house the offerings for the ascetics are set out for display all night long and make a goodly show, if the process can hardly be supposed to improve them for consumption. Mountains of cooked rice send out spurs of beef and pork, with flat lands of dried fish and outlying peaks of roasted ducks and fowls, the legs with their claws and the neck with the head and beak being extended as if they had been drawn out tight to exhibit their greatest length. Ngapi, fish paste, in all its malodorous varieties of ngapigaung, seinsa, dhamin, nga-thalauk, abounds, and loads the air with suggestions of a fish-

curing village, or an unclean fishmonger's in the dog days. 735
Chinese patties of sugar and fat pork, plates full of fried 262 ●
silkworms, maggots from the top of the cocoa-nut tree, salt-pickled ginger and fried garlic, and a variety of other dishes beyond the ken of occidental cookery, abound all down the long tables. Alternating with these, and perhaps more pleasant to look at, are heaps of fruit, oranges, citrons, shaddocks, plantains, with here and there a late durian or two, rivalling the ngapi in its odour, and the brick-red or purple rind that conceals the luscious "snows" of the delicious mangosteen. Plentiful tins of sardines and Reading biscuits, with somewhat muddy-looking Bengali-made lemonade, give evidence of the progress of "civilisation"; and plates of betel with the fresh green leaves of the betel-vine suggest how the morrow's afternoon will be passed in well-filled meditations by the pôngyis of the neighbouring monastery.

The house itself is decked out on a corresponding scale 527
of magnificence. To the uninitiated foreigner an ordinary 353
Burmese hut presents about as unfavourable raw material for decoration as can well be imagined. Built of rough teak planking, or of split bamboo mats, and raised a few feet off the ground on posts, it resembles a marquee tent in shape and in size (according to the principle of the old Joe Miller story about the stone which was as big as a lump of chalk). On all ordinary occasions there is not a vestige of furniture in it. A row of earthenware pots with water, a couple of wooden boxes, and the rolled-up mats and blankets whereon the household sleep, are the only things to be seen. The sides and ceiling are grimed with the smoke of the fire that cooks the daily meals; the floor stained with smudges of oil and red blotches of betel. Yet this unpromising shanty the Burman transforms into a palace chamber, or stage-like fairy bower. The sides of the house are thrown up towards the street, so that the room assumes the appearance of a verandah. The floor is covered with thick bamboo matting finely woven, over which bright-flowered rugs are spread. The dingy sides of the house are draped with flags and kullagās, elaborate stitched pieces of tapestry, ten or twelve feet long, and reaching down to the ground. White, or

563 463 184 ●[262] within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 511 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

556 As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 669 674 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 563 175 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

16,Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

These stalls are always crowded with people 796
buying and selling, or looking anxiously at the 262
many pretty wares, unable, perhaps, to buy. The refreshments are usually very simple—rice and curry for supper, and for little refreshments between whiles there are sugar-cakes and vermicelli, and other little cakes.

The crowd going up and down the steps is like 796
a gorgeous-coloured flood, crested with white foam, flowing between the dragons of the gate; and on the platform the crowd is thicker than ever. All day the festival goes on—the praying, the offering of gifts, the burning of little candles before the shrines—until the sun sets across the open country far beyond in gold and crimson glory. But even then there is no pause, no darkness, for hardly has the sun's last bright shaft faded from the pagoda spire far above, while his streamers are still bright across the west, than there comes in the east a new radiance, so soft, so wonderful, it seems more beautiful than the dying day. Across the misty fields the moon is rising; first a crimson globe hung low among the trees, but rising fast, and as it rises growing whiter. Its light comes flooding down upon the earth, pure silver with very black shadows. Then the night breeze begins to blow, very softly, very gently, and the trees give out their odour to the night, which woos them so much more sweetly than the day, till all the air is heavy with incense.

Behold, the pagoda has started into a new glory, 796
for it is all hung about with little lamps, myriads of 778
tiny cressets, and the façades of the shrines are lit 373
up, too. The lamps are put in long rows or in

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433 was not known. You paid a rupee, and took the
436 change in rice or other commodities.

369 The excitement of the great day of the full moon
796 began in the morning, about ten o'clock, with the
735 offerings to the monks. Outside the village gate
262 there was a piece of straight road, dry and open, and on each side of this, in rows, were the people with their gifts; mostly they were eatables. You see that it is very difficult to find any variety of things to give a monk; he is very strictly limited in the things he is allowed to receive. Garments, yellow garments, curtains to partition off corners of the monasteries and keep away the draughts, sacred books and eatables—that is nearly all. But eatables allow a very wide range. A monk may accept and eat any food—not drink, of course—provided he eat but the one big meal a day before noon; and so most of the offerings were eatables. Each donor knelt there upon the road with his or her offerings in a tray in front. There was rice cooked in all sorts of shapes, ordinary rice for eating with curry, and the sweet purple rice, cooked in bamboos and coming out in sticks. There were vegetables, too, of very many kinds, and sugar and cakes and oil and honey, and many other such things. There were a few, very few, books, for they are very hard to get, being all in manuscript; and there were one or two tapestry curtains; but there were heaps of
796 flowers. I remember there was one girl whose
735 whole offering was a few orchid sprays, and a little,
792 very little, heap of common rice. She was so poor;
her father and mother were dead, and she was not married. It was all she could give. She sat behind

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER XIX

'NOBLESSE OBLIGE'

'Sooner shall the cleft rock reunite so as to make a whole, than may he who kills any living being be admitted into our society.'—*Acceptance into the Monkhood.*

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It is very noticeable throughout the bazaars of Burma that all the beef butchers are natives of India. No Burman will kill a cow or a bullock, and no Burman will sell its meat. It is otherwise with pork and fowls. Burmans may sometimes be found selling these; and fish are almost invariably sold by the wives of the fishermen. During the king's time, any man who was even found in possession of beef was liable to very severe punishment. The only exception, as I have explained elsewhere, was in the case of the queen when expecting an addition to her family, and it was necessary that she should be strengthened in all ways. None, not even foreigners, were allowed to kill beef, and this law was very stringently observed. Other flesh and fish might, as far as the law of the country went, be sold with impunity. You could not be fined for killing and eating goats, or fowls, or pigs, 262 and these were sold occasionally. 779 It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

It is true that the taking of life is against 231 Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken 779 by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [463] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so [554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

how the trouble increases when it comes to goats or 779
any larger beasts. In the jungle villages meat of 231
any kind at all is never seen: no animals of any [262]
kind are allowed to be killed. An officer travelling in the district would be reduced to what he could carry with him, if it were not for an Act of Government obliging villages to furnish—on payment, of course—supplies for officers and troops passing through. The mere fact of such a law being necessary is sufficient proof of the strength of the feeling against taking life.

Of course, all shooting, either for sport or for 779
food, is looked upon as disgraceful. In many 224
jungle villages where deer abound there are one or 825
two hunters who make a living by hunting. But they are disgraced men. They are worse than fishermen, and they will have a terrible penalty to pay for it all. It will take much suffering to wash from their souls the cruelty, the blood-thirstiness, the carelessness to suffering, the absence of compassion, that hunting must produce. 'Is there no food in the bazaar, that you must go and take the lives of animals?' has been said to me many a time. And when my house-roof was infested by sparrows, who dropped grass and eggs all over my rooms, so that I was obliged to shoot them with a little rifle, this was no excuse. 'You should have built a sparrow-cote,' they told me. 'If you had built a sparrow-cote, they would have gone away and left you in peace. They only wanted to make nests and lay eggs and have little ones, and you went and shot them.' There are many sparrow-cotes to be seen in the villages.

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● 262 The concept of KARMA (fate) is important only in determining the general well-being of the individual, as seen in Daw Aw Zar's belief that her general good health was due to a morally-lived previous existence. "It is like a shadow". Some specific situations like being born blind is attributed to ones KARMA – in this case the person had been a notorious fighter of cocks in the previous existence; cocks being frequently blinded in the fights.

Each person is regarded as subject to some special disorder or weakness such as being especially subject to colds or headaches, or stomach troubles. Collectively these are referred to as "age-group" weaknesses. (MIYAT – girls' weakness; DULAH – boys' weaknesses.) But this is due to childhood illnesses and neglect of early troubles rather than KARMA. Persons with the weaknesses noted above avoid cucumbers (a "cold" vegetable), or hot foods including liquor (these cause greater heat to rise to the head), or green or raw vegetables (hard to digest). The choice of the correct diet to suit one's particular condition is important.

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514 Bodily exercise is a prime consideration for health. Callisthenics or sports for this purpose are unknown or unrecognized and by " healthful exercise " is meant everyday work activities. Regular daily motion is regarded as necessary for health, and a purgative is taken regularly once a month. The idea is to " clean out disease ". Purgatives are taken first in most sicknesses. This is followed by

drinking preparations in hot water to induce perspiration along with woolen blankets. The colour of the urine is checked "daily" since a too yellow colour indicates an unhealthy condition. If so – one must drink additional quantities of water and coconut water. "Urine takes the place of perspiration in cold weather". Over-working and lack of sleep also lead to unhealthiness. The ideal
[593] sleep period is from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. with a nap thrown in from 12 to 2 after "breakfast".

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753 Too much worrying SAY.TAUNG.LO.KOJER (mind-beating-because-body-crush) leads to sickness. This is a common problem for mothers who worry about their children's futures. It results in THEHJEH-[illegible] (small black bitter (gall)-disorder) where the gall fluid is

recognised as over-stimulated by anxieties. "Don't talk my gall into 158
disorder" is a common reaction to calamity tales. 753

The weather is important is maintaining health. Changeable 753
weather as during the late part of the Monsoon season is generally 132
unhealthy and gives rise to pulmonary disorders. One should provide head protection (through covering or shade from umbrella) from the sun's rays - which cause headaches by melting the brain. Colds come from getting wet in the rain resulting from the lack of sufficient bodily heat. MYEH HNGWE (earth-vapour) which rises as a steam in the early morning or after sudden rains is unhealthful in causing sore eyes and other inflammations. The "steam of the body" healthfully goes out in ordinary bathing and adds to one's comfort. Heat is a key factor in health and sickness being readily discerned as causes of local or general infection. The additional concept of "like producing like" helps explain the above beliefs.

The odor of AH HNYAW (fried-food) is especially dangerous to [252]
babies and persons in a weakened condition. When frying, which will create extensive fumes, is to be undertaken the cook must give warning to the neighbourhood so that susceptible ones can be protected. Such persons take refuge behind the thick, cloth mosquito nets. Many heated arguments take place in our servants' quarters when the Indian fried food fumes carry over to the Burmese apartments. It is
observed that this danger applies peculiarly to the Burmese - Chinese [186]
are also exempt since they are seen to cook with babies strapped on their backs.

Parts of the body are cared for with special ingredients. The 515
eyes are cleaned with pure water or coconut water. Oil is frequently 751
dropped into the ears through a feather quill. The mouth and teeth are cleaned with salt. Bitter foods heap keep the stomach fit.

Babies up to 1 year are fed on mother's milk or cow's milk. 853
After one, rise chewed by the mother "to make it digestible" is added with some dried fish. After two, the child can chew its own rice,
have a little meat, but no hot condiments. After five the child eats 561
the same foods as the adults but is not allowed sour foods as this 262
will "lessen the weight". After 16 or 17, this restriction is

561 removed. Old folks habitually like bitter foods - especially tea
262 leaves. Eating prepared foods left over night is strictly prohibited
as a cause of illnesses. Curry must be eaten while it is hot.
(There are no apparent reasons - just observation from eating spoiled
[757] foods). Boiled rice and fried dry fish comprises the standard sick
diet in addition to other foods especially prescribed for the cure or
177 for giving vigour. It is interesting to note that English foods such
757 as tinned biscuits ("Golden Puff biscuits") or milk preparations
262 ("Hollicks") are preferred for the sick diet by those who can afford
them. The "strong" tastes of these foods give strength to the sick
person. Lately, western medicines have been recognized as powerful.
U Myaing's experiences above show the means by which this idea is
established. However, the Burmese doctor is relied on even by families
of the administrative class in Rangoon.

759 When a case of sickness seems beyond response to normal treatments,
and it has been diagnosed as of a natural cause, the SAY SAYA
(medicine-master) is called in. "Foot-hire" at a stiff rate of Rs.5/-
for the first visit and 2 or 3 rupees for succeeding visits is paid
for this service."Say-saya, we place the case in your hands" is
intoned, to which the doctor replies "If our faith coincides (i.e.
patients and doctors) then we will be successful - otherwise we
cannot go against Karma". The doctor notes the symptoms, feels forehead
for fever, inquires of colour of urine and the course of the
disorder. He then chants in verse the diagnosis as "eyes yellow,
[198] action irregular, forehead moist - (giving nature of sickness)".
The treatment also follows in verse form as a rigid formula prescribing
medicines and diet. The doctor is a specialist in one or more
types of medicine which he has concocted such as "blood purifying
medicine","fever medicine", "purgative medicine", and he will have
[755] been called in because of this specialty. Charmed water is frequently
given. Here verse formula is said over a cup of water to give it
power.

SAY SAYA are trained when young men as apprentices to older doctors. The training includes memorising many books giving diagnoses and formulas for curing as well as learning the master's arts.

FOOD

Eating Routine

252 Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest
512 daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing
●262 prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking,
511 indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns... Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

[722]

> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

262 There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe
178 and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower
435 in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the
dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

basket PYIDAUNG. Both cost a rupee. One does not seem to be preferred to the other except as getting them allows a bargain to be made. The form is that of a pear shaped body with a square base, measuring about 8 by 8 inches. The basket is constructed in the wicker technique with small, whole reeds. Pathwe: 2. Camp: 1. 415 252 [285]

CHIN DAUNG (storage basket): The form of this basket is a larger version of the measurers. It has, however, an open weave giting a checkered effect to the sides and bottom. It is used to store objects including food. At Pathwe this basket was used in working the INS. The fish were scooped up, and later washed in them. The two used in camp were brought from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4- Camp: 1, Pathwe: 15 for washing fish. 251 415 [435]

Winnowing trays: Shallow baskets about 2½ feet in diameter and 2 inches high were used as shifting and storage trays. The SAGAW has a rounded base; whole the SAGAR has a flat base with fiber walls. Both are made of flat, wide-meshed reeds. The trays used in camp came from Pathwe where they cost Rs. 1/4 each. Pathwe: 1. 243 415

ZEE CHIN (Marketing basket): This basket is in the general shape of a cylinder, 1½ feet wide and 8 inches high, with open, flat reed sides and a semi-circular handle across the top. It is used to carry objedts from market and to store them in the house. Pathwe: 2, Camp: 1. 415

U Myaing expresses the contrast between the camp equippment and that of Pathwe: "These objects in camp are barely sufficient. We have to live as we are. In our own district we had sufficient to nail in boxes. The extra ones were nailed in boxes and only enough were taken out for the seven people who eat. When visiters come, good ones are brought out. Plates for curry, plates for eating rice. There were various kinds." 415 511 178

Food Items

Ma Aye Myaing gave as complete a set of data on the food consumption of her family as she could. The following data is inclusive for the family of seven, both in Pentanaw and the refugee camp. Ma Aye Myaing decides what dishes to cook for each meal of the day, and she does this without any consultation with U Myaing. She does not ask him what he would like for each meal, although sometimes when he expresses a desire for a certain dish she sees to it that it is prepared. She has a free hand in deciding what to cook for each meal in the day. Definitions of the weights and measures used follows in a glossary. The data is organized under the headings of (1) Main dishes and raw foods, (2) supplementary dishes and TO-ZAYA (vegetables eaten with NGAPI), and (3) trifles. 262 ● [593] [128]

262 The dishes are briefly described and their contents identified,
435 the amount consumed per unit of time, the source and cost of the food
178 in Pantanaw is compared with the situation in Lewis Road camp. These figures are reduced to quantity and cost per month in table Page 99. for ready comparison.

NGA (Fish): In Pantanaw fish was eaten every other day. Ma Aye Myaing cooked the fish in the form of four separate dishes, alternately about once in two days for one dish. Fish was obtained free sometimes, as in THADINGYUT and TAZAUNGMON months, when U Myaing used to work in the INS. The price of fish at that time was about Re. 1/- per viss. The first dish NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN (fish-sour-liguid-curry) is prepared with tamarind or dried marian fruit, water, salt NGAPI water, chillies and onions. The second dish NGA-ACHOUK-CHET (fish-dry-cooked) is fish salted and fried with pounded chillies and onions. The third dish NGA-HSI-BYAN (fish-oily-cooked) is fish mixed with pounded chillies and onions dehydrated. The fourth dish is fish cooked with vegetables after being mixed with pounded chillies and onions and water, salt, NGAPI water and some oil are added. Fish is also sometimes used in preparing NGA-HSAN-BYOKE (fish boiled in rice) but a lesser amount (25 ticals) is needed than in the case of the other four dishes, where 50 ticals of fish are needed. Rice boiled with fish is eaten sometimes for several days in succession and sometimes about only once in two weeks in Pathee. In the refugee camp fish is eaten only about four times a month when 12½ ticals are consumed at one eating. The fish are bought in MYENIGON market at Rs. 3/-per viss.

PAZUN (prawns): Prawns are prepared in two ways. The first dish which is called PAZUN HSI HMWAY or "prawns stirred in oil" dish is prepared by first skinning the prawns, mixing with salt, adding sliced onions, some oil and NGAPI water or NGA-PYAR-YE (fish juice) and frying. In the second dish, the prawns are skinned, and peeled potatoes, water, some oil, onions, NGAPI water and some vegetable like HMYIT (bamboo shoots) or CHIN BAUNG (Roseeary) are added. Thirty ticals of prawns were consumed at one meal - fifty ticals for both meals of the day. Prawns were eaten once every two or three days at Pantanaw, where they were bought at the rate of 12 annas or a rupee per viss, and sometimes obtained free from searching the INS. In camp the amount consumed is 15 ticals, and this dish is eaten almost every other day. Prawns are bought in MYENIGON market at Rs. 2/8 per viss.

KALA-PE (Indian-dhall):(Dhall: Gram, Cicera stietinum, Linn.) KALA PE are small yellow peas. Some of them have reddish brown skins. They are prepared in two ways by Ma Aye Myaing. One method is by preparing them in water PE HIN (dhall-curry). The dhall is boiled and pounded: sliced onions, fish juice and sessamum oil are added, additional water is poured in, and the mixture is placed on the fire. The other dish KALA PE GYAW (Dhall fried) is prepared by boiling and pounding dhall and then frying it in oil which has first been placed on fire and cured with sliced onion. Twenty five ticals of dhall at a rupee per viss are consumed at one meal, and dhall was eaten once every six or seven days in Pantanaw. In the camp 25 ticals at Rs. 1/8 per viss are consumed at every meal, and dhall is eaten here sometimes daily, sometimes once in two days.

KYET (chicken): Chicken is prepared by Ma Aye Myaing in either one of three ways. In the first dish "chicken with water", the chicken is cooked with chillies, onions, oil water and fish juice. This is prepared about twice in every eight times chicken curry is cooked. In the second dish KYET-THA-HSI-BYAN (chicken-flesh-oily cooked) or chicken cooked with oil, the same ingredients are used as above with the sole difference that very little water is poured in. This is a preferred manner of cooking and is eaten about six times out of every eight times chicken curry is prepared. The third dish KYET-THA-HSAN-BYOKE (chicken-flesh-rice-boiled) or chicken boiled with rice, is very seldom eaten - only about twice a year. In Pantanaw they used to have a whole fowl weighing about 50 to 60 ticals for every meal with chicken. These fowls were bred at home, but were sometimes bought at Rs. 1/8 per viss. They used to have chicken curry three or four times a month, two meals every day that they ate chicken back in Pantanaw, whereas they have not had this dish even once in the past two years.

BE (duck): Duck can be prepared in the same way as the three dishes for chicken i.e. with water (eaten twice in every eight times duck curry is used), with oil (eaten about six times in eight times duck curry is used), and boiled in rice (eaten only about twice a year.) Roast duck is also very seldom eaten i.e. only about twice a year. In Pantanaw duck curry was eaten during eight meals a month. Fifty ticals were consumed at each meal. The ducks were bred at home, but were sometimes purchased for Rs. 2/- per viss. They have not had a single meal with duck curry in the pasttwo years.

AME-THA (beef): Beef is cooked by Ma Aye Myaing only in one way - as AME-THA-HSI-BYAN or beef cooked in oil. This was eaten for about eight meals in the month. At each meal the family consumed 50 ticals at a rupee per viss. They have not had beef for the past two years.

WET-THA (pork): Pork is cooked in two ways - with water and with oil. These dishes are cooked according to the same recipe as for chicken with water and chicken with oil. Pork cooked in water is eaten four times while pork with oil is eaten six times, in every ten times that the family has pork for meals. Back in Pantanaw they ate pork during ten meals a month, consuming in one month 25 ticals at Rs. 2/8 per viss when bought in the village. In the camp pork is eaten about twice a month. 25 ticals at Rs. 4/- per viss are consumed in one meal. In addition to the other two dishes, pork can also be eaten in the form of soup made out of pig's head (pig's head weighs about 3 to 4 viss) or pig's trotter (including a lot of flesh from the shoulder, weighs 60 to 70 ticals), WET-GAUNG-HSU-BYOKE (pig-head-soup-boiled) or WET-CHE-DAUK-HSU-BYOKE (pig-trotters-soup-boiled) as a supplementary dish. This was cooked only back in Pathwe village where people used to kill pigs for sale. In the two years that U Myaing's family have been in the refugge camp they have not had a single meal of pork soup, whereas they were used to having it four or five times a month. A head cost a rupee, and each trotter cost two or three annas. One head is large enough to provide three or four families enough soup for two meals when shared. The other alternative is to have one trotter for each meal.

BE-U (duck's eggs): These were eaten three or four times a month back in Pantanaw, and is another food which the family has not had for the past two years. Eggs cost a rupee a dozen and five eggs were consumed at each meal. They were eaten in three forms BE-U-GYAW (fried) BE U BYOKE (boiled), and BE U BYOKE HIN (cooked with water). Boiled eggs are eaten very seldom, i.e. not even once a month. For ducks' eggs cooked with water, the recipe is the same as for chicken cooked in water, except that the eggs have to be boiled and peeled previous to cooking. This dish was eaten about once in every four times. BE U GYAW or fried duck eggs was liked better and eaten three times in every four.

KAYAN-THEE (Brinjal fruit: Solanum Melongena, Linn.): Brinjal fruit are purple in colour and have various sizes ranging from about an inch in the small KAYAN KYUT-THEE (brinjal-small-fruit) variety to about eight inches long in the larger ones. In the manner of preparation known as KAYAN-THEE-O-GAT(brinjal-fruit-pot-stick) they are fried with dried prawns in oil that has been cured with sliced onions. Five brinjals, costing between two and four annas were eaten at one meal in Pantanaw. This dish was eaten once every three or four days, the brinjals being purchased from Pantanaw market or from other villagers. In camp six brinjals costing four to six annas for six fruits in the MINHIDON market are needed for one meal. This is eaten once in two or three days.

PE LINMWE THEE (bean-snake-fruit) Snake Gourd: Trichosanthes Anguina, Linn.) are cooked in the same way as brinjals. They were grown at home in Pantanaw and eaten about once every two or three days.

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Two of these gourds were sufficient for one meal. In the refugee camp this curry dish is prepared once in three days. Three gourds, together costing four or five annas were used for every meal. Snake gourds are long and white in colour. They are about one TAUNG or one TAUNG and one span in length and usually have a diameter between 1½" and 2½".

PE THEE (Beans: Vigna Catiang, Walp. Var sinensis.): PE THEE beans are one quarter inch to one third inch in diameter, and are about one TAUNG long. They are cooked in the same way as brinjal. 25 beans, together costing about four annas were eaten at every meal. This dish was cooked about thrice a month in Pantanaw, and between three and five times a month here in camp. PE THEE beans have to be bought in MYENIGON market at the rate of 5 annas for 25 beans.

HSAN (Rice: Orisa Sativa, Linn.): Rice is the staple food of the Burmese. It is eaten after it has been boiled and steamed. In Pantanaw five condensed milk tins of rice were consumed in one meal, ten in two meals. At that time the two younger children were too young to eat much. There were two main meals a day. U Myaing bought paddy and had it husked at the rice mill whenever it was needed. It had to be bought at the rate of Rs. 150/- per hundred baskets. One basket is equivalent to 16 PYIS, each of which takes 8 condensed milk tins. The husking charges came to Rs. 10/- for hundred baskets. One hundred baskets of paddy yeilds fifty baskets of rice at three and one fifth rupees per basket. This comes up to three and one fifth annas per PYI or 1/16th of one basket. The market price at Pantanaw (if bought in the open market) was 5 annas per PYI of rice. In the refugee camp, 11 condensed milk tins of rice are consumed every day. The rice has to be bought in MYENIGON market at 12 annas per PYI. Until about three months ago rice was distributed once every two or three weeks by the government. The amount allotted to U Myaing's family as a whole for one week was 8 PYI and 6 condensed milk tins. This was insufficient, and Ma Aye Myaing explained that although they had for some time previous to that been given enough to feed the whole family, by then the government had reduced the total allotted by the amount of rice one adult would consume.

NGA-YOTE-THEE-ACHAUK (chilly-fruit-dry Chillies: Capsicum Frutescens, Linn.) Pounded chillies which have previously been dried constitute an ingredient in almost every dish that the Burmese people prepare for food. The same may be said of onions. Ma Aye Myaing informs us that back in Pantanaw the chillies consumption for one month was one viss at eight annas for ten ticals, or five rupees per viss. In the camp two one anna packets of dried chillies are used each day. One packet of chillies in Camp contains only 4 or 5, each 1½" long by 1" diameter. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the number of ticals in the packet, but a visitor who lives in the camp says that the packets contain only four or five chillies each. These packets have to be purchased at the MYENIGON market.

KYET THUN onions:(Allium cepa, Linn.) One viss of onions lasted ten days back in Pantanaw market at Re. 1/- per viss. In the camp the figures for consumption are the same, but the price in MYENIGON market [illegible]s eight annas per viss.

AR LU Potatoes:(Solanum tuberosum, Linn) One viss of onions laste ten days back in Pantanaw and fifty ticals lasted only for one dish, which they gave away as HSOON four or five times a month, having one third of a viss for each meal. The price of potatoes in Myenigon market is 10 or 12 annas per viss.

HNA salt:(Sodium chloride:) There was no need to buy any salt for cooking purposes back in Pantanaw. The family used to work a great deal with salt in making NGAPI for the market, and as the cooking need of salt were taken from this supply the daily consumption was not note In camp, however, they have to buy salt at the rate of one anna per ten ticals, which amount will last them for four days. In camp salt is used at every meal, but at Pathwe fish juice was used to fulfil most of the functions of salt. Salt was used there by the family only in preparing fish to be fried.

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PAZUN-CHAUK (prawns-dried): Both in Pantanaw and in camp ten ticals of dried prawns lasts about five or six days. The price per viss, however, was Re. 1/- in Pantanaw, while it is Rs. 1/4 in Myenigon market.

NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice): Fish juice , a viscous liquid, red in colour and salt to the taste is another of the cooking ingredients very widely used in Burmese homes and kitchens. Three large kerosene tins each with a capacity of thirteen viss hold the yearly consumption of NGAN PYAR YE of U Myaing's family in Pantanaw. This item does not involve any special cost since it is nothing but juice which drips from the fish which has been fermenting in the process of NGAPI making. Ma Aye Myaing's family made NGAPI every year. Here in camp, however, the fish juice has to be bought at Rs. 2/8 per viss, and is bought either from Myenigon market or from intinerant sellers. Back in Pathwe it took 5 ticals of NGANPYAR YE to cook a meal while in the camp two ticals are made to suffice. NGAPI YE is light in colour and salt in taste. It is more viscous than NGANPYAR YE and contains some small pieces of fish as well.

NNAN-HSI (Sessamum oil: sessamum indicum, D.B.): Sessamum oil is used every day. In Pantanaw ten ticals of sessamum oil lasts three meals while in camp one tical of oil is used to cook one meal. The price of ten ticals in Pantanaw was 12 annas and in the refugee camp is 8 annas.

KYAN TAGAR (Cane jaggery: sacchhrum officinarum, L.): Two and a half ticals of cane jaggery at each eating were consumed twice a month in Pantanaw. In camp 2½ ticals last one eating and cane sugar jaggery costs two annas for five ticals here as against four annas in Pantanaw.

Supplementary Dishes and TOZAYA

Following are the dishes and ingredients that are usually served as a supplementary dish or as "TOZAYA", leaves of vegetables that are eaten with NGAPI water or fish juice.

BU-THEE (Bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris, ser.): Gourd fruit was eaten three or four times a month in Pantanaw. One gourd fruit varies in size from about 1½ feet by 1 foot to 1 foot by 8 inches. For each meal one slice measuring 1½ feet by two inches was cooked, one such slice of gourd fruit costing an anna. In the camp half of this amount is prepared for a meal once or twice a month. A slice of gourd fruit measuring half of the Pantanaw amount costs 2 annas in the Myenigon market. The method of preparation for gourd fruit is as follows: Peel, wash and slice the fruit into small pieces. Cook with skinned prawns, NGANPYAR YE, onions, sessamum oil and water. This is known as BU-THEE-KYAW-CHET and is eaten with rice.

DAN DA LUN-THEE (Drumstick fruit: morigaa pterygosperma, Gaertn): One DAN DA LUN fruit measures about 3/4 " in diameter and about 1' long This fruit is prepared by cutting open the stalk, scraping out the inside with a spoon, and then cooking in CHIN YE fashion (as a sour dish) either with prawns or with fish, with tamarind as the sour ingredient, fish juice chillies, and sessamum oil. It is eaten with rice. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten during two meals in the month. Each meal requires 25 fruit costing 12 annas for 10.

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YONPADE-THEE (Lady's finger, Hibiscus esculentus, Linn.): One fruit is about 3/4 " in diameter and 4" long. In Pantanaw 10 lady's fingers costing one anna for ten were eaten at every meal. There were about four meals in the month where YONPADE THEE was cooked for curry. It is made into a soup, to be consumed with the main meals of the day. Fish have to be boiled and the bones removed from them. Then they have to be mixed with fish juice and water and place on the fire until it starts to boil, when the fruit has to be put in. The children pour this soup straight onto their bowls, whereas the adults drink this soup from the spoon in the soup bowl. The price of this fruit in camp is 10 for two annas. 10 fruit are consumed here at every meal, but they have cooked this dish only three times in the past year.

KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green: Ipomaea aquatica, Forsk.): KAZUN YWET leaf was eaten during five meals a month back in Pantanaw. One bundle would suffice for a meal and was obtained free from the fields One bundle holds about 25 leaves in one bundle here. It may be prepared as a CHIN YE (sour liquid dish) with fish and NGANPYAR YE and tamarind, onions and water. The leaves have to be cut up and washed, mixed thoroughly with the ingredients mentioned above and placed on the fire. This dish can be poured onto the rice or it can be taken in the same way as soup. The leaves and the fish are eaten together with handfuls of rice. The inclusion of the tamarind makes the dish a CHINYE-HIN. In the refugee camp three bundles of these leaves, costing altogether two annas, are made to last three meals. This dish is eaten during ten meals in the month.

KYAUNG-SHAR-THEE (cat-tongue-fruit) Oroxylum indicum, vent): One KYAUNG SHAR THEE is about 1½' long by 3" wide by 3/4" thick. One fruit was eaten for one meal both in Pantanaw and in camp. This dish was prepared in Pantanaw once in every two or three days while here it was eaten only once last year. This fruit sells in Pantanaw at two for three annas as against two annas each in Rangoon. KYAUNG SHAR THEE is prepared in the following way: First the fruit has to be sliced and washed and then cooked with dried fish, oil onions and NGANPYAR YE. No water or chain is put in. This is KYAUNG-SHAR THEE-KYAW-CHET (cat-tongue-fruit-sweet-cooked) and is eaten after burying in handfulls of rice.

DA NYIN-THEE (Pithecolobium Labatum, Benth.): One DA NYIN-THEE is about 1" to 1½" in diameter and ½" to 1" thick. This small fruit eaten with NGAPI appeared ten for one meal, and almost every day when in season. The ten cost four annas. In Rangoon they are used less frequently - for 5 meals per month and ten fruit per meal. The price here is three or four annas for ten. This cheap food was "eaten whenever desired." This fruit is used as TOZAYA after it is either boiled or baked.

THAYET-YWET (Mango leaf: Mangifera indica, Linn.): The mango leaf is eaten as TOZAYA. The leaf, about 2" to 5" long, 3/4" to one and three quarters inch wide, and 1/8th inch thick, is washed. A piece is then broken off, placed on a rice mound, ngapi oil is poured over, more rice is added, and the concoction is ready to go. The leaf does not need to be boiled. In Pathwe the leaf is used for three meals per month and consisted of 5 leaves for each meal. It was free, and gathered from the tree. The leaf has not been eaten once in camp.

MAYAN-THEE (Marian fruit: Bouea Burmanica, Griff): One marian fruit is about 1½ to one and three quarter inch long and 1" in diameter. Marian fruit, eaten raw or salted was gathered free in Pathwe and eaten six meals per month, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per mohth, six fruit per meal. In camp it was eaten two meals per month six per meal at the cost of one anna for six. It is eaten after being pounded with burnt chilli, dried prawns and mixed with NGAPI water.

HSU-BOKE-YWET (thorn-smelling-leaf: Acacia pennata.): These leaves were eaten fiee sprigs a meal three meals a month in Pathwe.

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They are not eaten at all in the camp. One bundle of these leaves cost an anna in Pantanaw. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI water. They do not need to be boiled but can be eaten as they are after being washed. For one eating about 45 leaves are needed.

SHWE-PAYON-THEE, (Golden pumpkin: Cucurbita pepo, D.C.): In Pathwe this fruit was eaten about three or four times a month. One fruit lasted for three meals and costs four annas. It has not been eaten in camp and is not greatly desired. SHWE-PAYON-THEE is cooked with dried fish. The fruit is very large and has to be chopped into pieces and added. Sessamum oil has to be cured with onions, and then the mixture is added to it. NGAN PYAR YE is an ingredient, but not chillies. This dish is eaten after mixing thoroughly with rice or after burying small pieces in small mounds of rice.

THAKWA-THEE (Cucumber: Cucumis sativus, Linn.): Eaten two or three times a month in Pathwe, one fruit measuring about one foot by two inches cost two annas and lasted a meal. It is eaten four or five times a month in camp, but the fruit here measures two inches by eight inches and cost two annas. One fruit is used for one meal. Cucumber can be eaten in two ways - either as a pickle or as a dish. To make pickle dried prawns have to be pounded, cucumber scraped into small slivers, sessamum oil has to be cured with onions and poured onto the cucumber and prawns. Some fish juice and pounded dried chillies are added. This preparation is eaten buried in handfuls of rice. To make the dish, the prawns are skinned and the cucumber peeled. The cucumber is then sliced and mixed with the prawns. Then sessamum oil is cured with the sliced onions, and the mixture of prawns and cucumber is placed in the oil. Some fish juice and little water are also added. This is known as cooking in the KYAW-CHET manner. Food cooked in this way can be either poured onto the rice, or the liquid may be taken as soup and the pieces buried in rice and eaten.

HMO NA DO (Water fern leaves, Marsilea Minuta): These were obtained free from the fields. One small bundle consisting of about eight were eaten about four times a year in Pathwe. This has been eaten only once since the family's arrival in camp. One bundle costs one anna. It is eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. It cannot be made into a dish. It does not need to be prepared in any way, except for washing with water and removing the roots.

HMO (Mushrooms of many variaties): Mushrooms were eaten three times a month in Pathwe using 50 ticals for one meal. They cost two rupees a viss. Not eaten in camp. Mushrooms are cooked with prawns. The prawns are skinned and mixed with cured sessamum oil, onions and fish juice, and a little water is added. This is a KYAW CHET (fried-cooked). Mushrooms cooked in this way are eaten with handfuls of rice.

KAW BI DOKE (Cabbage: Brassica oleracea, Linn., sub-species capitata): One cabbage about seven inches in diameter was eaten at two meals per month costing six annas in Pathwe. In camp the vegetable is eaten two or three times a month, 25 ticals at a cost of three annas per meal. This is eaten with prawns. The cabbage is sliced, sessamum oil cured with onions, fish juice added, and the cabbage fried. This is also eaten either mixed with rice or buried in rice.

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KA NAN (crab: Crustacean, Potamon sayanum): Crab has not been eaten by the family at all. It was not eaten because in Pantanaw the crabs were very small and quite unlike the big ones that can be obtained in Rangoon. Owing to this factor they do not know how to cook or to otherwise prepare crabs for food, and now in the camp, even though crabs are available, they do not inquire into the price of crabs. Ma Aye Myaing still does not know how to cook crabs for a meal.

BUNIUNT (tender sprouts of bottle gourd: Lagenaria vulgaris Ser); BU NYUNT soup, consisting of five sprouts costing one anna boiled in water was made four to six times a month in Pathwe. In Rangoon one bundle consisting of twosprouts cost one anna. Two bundles were used for one meal, but eaten only three times during the last year.

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DANDALUN-YWET (leaves of drumstick tree: Moringa pterygosperma, Gtn): A soup is made of this leaf. Fish is boiled and its bones removed; the small leaves are taken from the branch and washed. The prepared fish and NGAN PYAR YE are boiled, and when the water boils over the DANDALUN leaf is added. The adults drink this soup from the spoon in the saucer, while the children pour it onto their plates.

MAGYEE YWET (Tamarind leaves: tamarindus indicus, Linn): These small leaves were eaten five times a month, five ticals at a meal. They were gathered free from trees around the village. They have not been eaten once in Rangoon because they have not seen the tamarind on sale anywhere. Tamarind leaves can be prepared in two ways: either as a pickle or as a soup. To prepare the soup boil some fish and add NGAN PYAR YE. When the fish boils over wash some tamarind and add to the mixture. This gives a tamarind soup. For a pickle take either dried prawns or dried fish and pound in the pestle; take some tamarind leaves and mix with salt; put in the dried prawns (or dried fish), sliced onions, and also some sessamum oil, and mix thoroughly. It is eaten buried in handfuls of rice.

KYAR-YO (lotus stalk: Nymphea lotus, Linn): The lotus stalk boiled or fried, was eaten three times a month, five for one meal. It was gathered free in Pathwe. One lotus bundle holds two straws. It is not eaten in camp. NGAN PYAR YE is added, the lotus stalk is peeled, and added to the water when it boils over. Adults drink this soup straight from the spoon in the soup saucer.

SAR-LAY-CHI DAUK (
One Sar-lay-chi-dauk bundle measures 1½" in diameter. It has not been eaten in camp but was used for two meals a month in Pathwe. The market price was one anna for one bundle an inch and a half in diameter, but th family usually secured it free. SARLAY -CHI DAUK are small sprouts. Then they are ready for TOZAYA to be eaten with NGAPI water. There is no need to boil them before using them as TOZAYA.

ON SHI YWET (leaves of Bael fruit: Aegle marmelos, Corr): This leaf, eaten raw, was used in three meals a month. One bundle of four to eight leaves was used for each meal, and cost one anna. At camp it was not eaten once. ON SHI YWET are small leaves which are either circular or slightly elongated in shape. One bundle contains 4 to 8 leaves. They are eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI. Two and a half ticals of this leaf are bought for each meal although they may or may not eat that amount.

SHAUK-THEE-LET-THOKE (citrus fruit-hand-prepared) (preparation of lemon: Citrus medica Linn. var.-acida): This citric fruit is eaten raw - either alone or intermixed with NGAPI and other ingredients. To prepare the lemon as LET THOKE take one lemon, peel it and add pounded green chillies and sliced onions. Then mix the whole thoroughly with powder of dried prawns, fish juice and salt. Eat with handfuls of rice.

HSALUT-YWET (salad leaves leaves of lettuce: Lactuca sativa, Linn.) Lettuce leaves are fried and eaten. They are sliced in sessamum oil cured with onions and eaten with rice. The family did not eat this at all in Pantanaw, while in the camp it is eaten for three meals in the month. Two sprouts at one anna apiece are used for each meal.

MON LAR-YWET (leaves of carrot: daucus carota, Linn.): One MON LAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are prepared as a CHIN YE with fish, chillies, onions, sessamum and tamarind fruit, dilute in water. The liquid curry is poured onto the rice while the leaves are buried in rice and eaten. This was eaten three meals a month back in Pathwe. One bundle costing one anna and holding six sprouts lasted for one meal. It has not been eaten once here.

TAMAR YWET (Neem leaves: Azadichata indica A.Juss): One TAMAR leaf bundle holds four or five leaves. These leaves are eaten with NGAPI water as a TOZAYA. They are prepared by singeing in the fire. These leaves were not eaten in Pathwe. In camp they are eaten during two meals a month, one bundle costing an anna being consumed at each meal.

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TAMAR-CHIN (pickled leaves of neem: azadirachta indica, A. Juss): These are specially prepared neem leaves that have been made sour. They are bought from sellers and need no further preparation for eating. For one anna, four to six small stems may be obtained. They were eaten as TOZAYA with NGAPI and rice. They are not eaten here at all, but in Pantanaw the family used to eat it once a month, buying the pickle from boats that come from Upper Burma.

HPAN-GA-THEE (Fruit of Terminalia chebula, Linn.): One HPAN GAR fruit measures about 1½" by 1" in diameter. This fruit is eaten with NGAPI as TOZAYA. It is eaten raw. A piece of the small fruit (which is about one to one and a half inches long) is bitten off, and placed on a handful or rice. A spoonful of rice is then poured on it, and some more rice is used to cover it, after which the whole handful is conveyed to the mouth. This fruit was not eaten in Pathwe. Here it is eaten during four meals in the month. One anna buys ten and ten fruits last one meal.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit: Artocarpus integrifolia, L): One Jack fruit is one foot to one and three quarters feet in length and six inches to 1 foot in thickness. This big fruit contains between 25 and 40 small fruit inside, and it is these small fruit that have to be eaten. It is eaten as a TOZAYA in its raw and tender stage. While the fruit is still small it is taken from the tree and boiled. Then it is cut up into slices and eaten with NGAPI YE. It was eaten about four times a year in Pathwe where one fruit lasted three eatings and cost twelve annas. In camp one fruit lasts two eatings. None were eaten last year; three this year. The seed of the Jack fruit is occasionally boiled and eaten with salt and sesamum oil during the daytime. Even when seeds themselves are purchased they are quite cheap, the cost being only an anna for one condensed milk tin of Jack fruit seeds. Boiled Jack fruit seeds were eaten three times a month in Pathwe, where one condensed milk tin full was prepared for each eating. In camp, six seeds costing one anna for the six are eaten at a time, for three times a month when in season.

PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawn-fish mixed-fried. Prawns fried in meal): To make PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW, pound some rice into a flour, remove the heads from some prawns and mix both with salt and water. Place some oil on the fire until it is ready, and then make small flat pieces of the prepared meal and slide into the oil. In a short time the pieces are ready for consumption. The PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAW sold in the streets are about 2½ inches in diameter and contain about 10 small prawns, but those made at home are usually much larger. They are eaten with rice by this family, although this is not absolutely necessary. In Pathwe, the prawns and fish oil were obtained free from the IWS. This was eaten during six meals a month. At one eating four or five pieces, each containing about ten prawns, were consumed. It has been eaten only once in the camp. Four pieces, costing an anna each were eaten then.

NGA NGABAUNG GYAW (fish-mix-fried. Fish fried in meal) is prepared in the same way as PAZUN-NGABAUNG-GYAW (prawns fried in meal). Rice is pounded into a flour and mixed with the fish and a small amount of water. Oil is placed on the fire and when ready, the prepared meal and fish are shaped into small flat pieces and placed in the oil. The fried product is then eaten with rice. It may also be eaten by itself as a trifle. NGA-NGABAUNG-GYAW was not eaten at all in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten four or five times a month. One piece costs one anna and three pieces are consumed every time it is eaten.

THAYET-THEE-THANAT (Mango-fruit-pickle: mangifera indica, Linn.): Mango pickle is made in the following manner:- The mango fruit are cut in halves and kept overnight in salt water. In the morning they are laid out in the sun to dry. This drying goes on for three or four days and then they are again mixed with salt water and after that steamed in a steam cooker (PAUNG GYAUNG). After this the mangoes are pressed and stored in a small SIN O or earthenware jar. When it is required for eating, large red onions and garlic, sesamum oil, NGAN PYAR YE

● 262 435 178 and saffron are mixed with the dried and salted mangoes to make mango pickle. This pickle is eaten with rice. The mango is steamed to make it softer and easier to tear apart. THAYET-THEE-THANAT was eaten during three meals a month in Pathwe, where three or four pieces were consumed at each meal. One piece of mango pickle is about 1/6th of one mango. The pickle was made at home from mangoes that were obtained free of charge. The figures for consumption per meal in camp are the same, but here it is eaten more often - once in every two or three days. One anna's worth of mango pickle lasts two meals here.

MAYAN-THEE-THANAT (Marian-fruit-pickle: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): MAYAN THEE-THANAT has not been made once by Ma Aye Myaing. In Pantanaw no one made this, but in camp they have eaten some which they purchase from Indian women who came around selling it. Ma Aye Myaing does not know how Marian pickle can be made. Marian fruit is also eaten as a flavouring ingredient in dishes, after being sliced into halves and dried in the sun. Fish is chopped and washed, mixed with NGAN PYAR YE, pounded chillies, pounded onions, sessamum oil, water and dried marian. The main ingredient i this dish is fish, and the dried marian is just a flavouring agent. It serves as a flavouring in the NGA-CHIN-YE-HIN dish. Marian pickle is not desired by the family.

ZEE-YO (Plum jam: zizyphus jujuba, Lam.): Plum jam is bought from the sellers. It is eaten as a trifle in the daytime. One anna's worth of plum jam weighs about 2½ ticals. In Pantanaw also ZEE YO sellers used to come around to the house; it was much cheaper there than Rangoon since one anna would buy 7½ ticals of plum jam. In Pathwe one tea-cup full weighing about 2½ ticals cost an anna and lasted one meal. ZEE-YO was eaten there only once a month. In camp [804] it is eaten four or five times a month but the consumption per eating has dropped to ½ of one teacup, which costs one anna. One Burmese tea- [415] cup is equivalent to about ½ the standard western teacup.

THAYET-THEE-HSA-SEIN (mango-fruit-salt-soaked: mangifera indica, Linn): Salted mangoes are eaten with rice as TOZAYA. It is buried in rice and eaten with NGAPI water. To make salted mangoes, wash the required amount of mangoes, mix with salt and place in large earthenware jars. After three days mix salt with water and place on the fire, and then pour the salted water into the jar so that the mangoes inside will be completely submerged. In Pantanaw one salted mango sufficed for one meal, and salted mangoes were eaten once every two or three days. They were salted at home, the cost of making 120 salted mangoes amounting to Rs. 10/- in all. The family has not eaten salted mangoes in camp "even once".

MAYAN-THEE-HSA-SEIN (Marian-fruit-salt-soaked: Bouea burmanica, Griff.): Salted marian is prepared in the same manner as bove. In Pathwe marians were obtained free and salted at home. 1000 marians could be salted for one rupee. Six marians were eaten at each meal, and they were eaten almost every day. Salted marians have not been eaten in camp at all by the family.

NNE-NAT-YO (pineapple jam: ananas sativa, Linn.) has never been made by Ma Aye Myaing. She buys the jam from sellers who come round It can be eaten either by itself or with plain tea in the afternoons. In Pathwe village it was not eaten at all, and in camp they have had it only once, when they ate 5 ticals of jam worth four annas.

THAYET-YO (Mango-jam: mangifera indica, Linn.): It is bought from sellers and usually eaten in the afternoons as a trifle. It has not been eaten at all in camp. In Pantanaw mango jam was made once every year. Mangoes were obtained free and four annas worth of sugar gave ten or fifteen ticals of jam. One teacup was consumed at every eating.

ON-YO (coconut-jam: cocos nucifera, Linn.): Coconut jam has to be bought by pieces. They are usually of white colour and square in shape. One stick measures 2" by 1½" by ½". They are made by mixing sugar with water andplacing on the fire. Coconut scrapings are added, and when the liquid solidifies the hard coconut jam surface is cut up into separate pieces. ONYO was not eaten in Pathwe. In camp it is eaten once a month. Three or four sticks, each costing one anna, are consumed at each eating.

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BAMAR LAPHET CHAUK (Burmese-tea-dry: Camellia theifera, Griff.): Burmese tea leaves are made into a beverage by simply sprinkling a few leaves in a pot of boiling water. The same leaves can be used to brew two or three pots of plain tea at each occasion of drinking. Burmese plain tea is taken either by itself or together with cane jaggery. Two or three pinches of tea-teaves, each pinch about the size of a betel nut, are necessary for one pot of plain tea both in Pantanaw and in camp. In both places the family drinks two pots a day, but a rupee buys 12½ ticals of tea here as against only 10 ticals in Pathwe.

PEIN U (Tara tuber: colocasia antiquorum, Schott): This fruit is cooked as a dish. It is peeled, prawns are skinned and mixed with NGANPYAR YE; sessamum oil is cured with onions, water is added, and the whole thing is then cooked. This is a KYAW-CHET dish and has to be eaten with rice. PEIN U has not been eaten once in camp but in Pathwe was eaten during four meals a month. Thirty ticals, costing three annas, were used at each meal.

KAZUN U (Sweet potato: Ipomea Batatas, Poir) is boiled and eaten with salt and sessamum oil. In Pathwe fifty ticals were eaten at one meal. One meal was eaten with KAZUN U every three days. One viss cost six annas in their village. In camp fifty ticals are consumed at each meal, but the price is ten annas for a viss. They have had this dish only once since their arrival at camp.

TRIFLES

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"Trifles" are tid-bits eaten at the end of the meal or between meals. They are usually sweet foods as cakes and candy. The distinction between trifles and some supplementary dishes is not clear and they fall into either catagory depending on the use of the occasion.

MON YAR YOE (cake-lotus stalk) is a small elongated trifle, measuring 1½" in diameter, ½ inch in thickness and 5 ticals in weight. One condensed milk tin of treacle rice (KAUK HNYIN) and one condensed milk tin of ordinary white rice are ground together and then mixed with water and made into eliptical balls. These balls are then boiled and eaten with jaggery water and scraped coconuts. They are sold à one anna each. This trifle was not sold in Pathwe. It is eaten three times a month in camp by the four children who have one each. One MON-KYAR-YOE costs one anna here.

MON-LETKAUK (cake-bangle) is made by grinding together some KAUK-HNYIN and some rice and then frying. In shape the trifle is sometimes long and sometimes is made in the form of whorls. It has to be fried in oil and eaten with jaggery liquid. It was eaten once a month in Pathwe but has not been eaten once in camp. This is in part due to the absence of sellers.

MON-OT-KALAY (cake-cover-small) are small circular trifles with a diameter of about two inches and measuring one inch in the thickest part of the trifle. These trifles are all of one size and are made by first grinding ordinary white rice, then adding some sugar and some coconut scrapeings and then being placed in the special oven for MON-OT-KALAY. This special oven is made of clay and contains several small declivities which give the shape of MON OT KALAY trifles to the prepared meal that is poured in after these moulds have been wiped with oil to prevent the meal from sticking to them. This trifle had to 2½. Mangoes in season cost four annas for ten. In camp they have eaten mangoes twice in six months, six for one eating, Rs. 1/- for six. 263 435 178

MAYAN-THEE-AHME (marian-fruit-ripe: Bouea burmanica, Griff.) are eaten in the afternoons, with salt. Similarly with unripe ones. They are also eaten with rice and NGAPI YE. In Pathwe about ten fruits were eaten almost daily when in season.

NGA PYAW-THEE (banana-fruit: Musa paradisica, Linn, Sub-sp, sapientum, K. Schum). Bananas are sometimes eaten with rice during the main meals but usually by themselves. In Pathwe one bunch a day containing 13 bananas and costing three annas were eaten during four or five times a month. In camp the same bunch costs four annas and bananas are eaten five times a month.

THAGYAR-LON (sugar-ball) or sweets, and CHO-CHIN (sweet-sour) are bought. Ma Aye Myaing has never seen these being made and hence does not know the process of manufacture. The THAGYAR-LON are round sweets also but are shaped like small orange pods and weighing about six to the tical. They are eaten only in camp. The consumption of sweets is limited to the youngest. She gets 8 THAGYAR-LONS a month at one anna for two and two for an eating; and 18 CHO-CHIN a month at an anna for six and six for one eating.

Ma Aye Myaing gave the following data on the period of the year 262 when the foods used by the family are available.

Fish is obtained from the fishery in Pathwe from the month of Tawthalin to the month of Pyatho. From the other places in the river, fish was obtained from Tabodwe month to the months of Kason and Nayon. The varieties of fish remain the same in both fishing areas. Shrimps are plentiful in Pyatho month and lobsters in Tazaungmon and Nadaw.

KALA-PE (dhall): In common with a great number of peas and beans, KALA PE appears about the month of Tabaung. However, since these are not very perishable, they can be kept in stock for the whole year and made available in any month.

KAYAN-THEE (brinjal): The brinjal plant starts to bear fruit in the month of Pyatho and continues to Kason and Nayon. In Tawthalin and Thadingyut, brinjal fruit was brought to Pathwe from other villages from the fields not on the river banks. Here in Rangoon they notice that brinjal fruit is available all year round.

PE-LINDOKE-THEE (snake beans) were available during the months of Kason, Nayon, Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

In Rangoon many of the plants and vegetables that were cultivated only seasonally back in Pathwe and the other district villages, are cultivated all the year round. The ready market in Rangoon encourages the districts lying just outside Rangoon to produce whatever plants they can and send them to town. [369] [241]

PE THEE (beans): These appeared in Pathwe for 9 months in the year. The first period is from Tazaungmon to Tagu, and the second from Waso to Thadingyut inclusive. In Rangoon this is available all year round.

HSAN (rice): During the months of Kason and Nayon the paddy grains are sown in the nurseries, and the seedlings are then transplanted to the fields during Waso and Wagaung. In other fields where no transplanting is carried on, the seeds are sown broadcast in Kason and Nayon. There are some species of paddy grain that ripen earlier than the rest. However, from the point of view of the consumer, rice is available all the year round. [243]

NGAYOTE-THEE (chillies): The seeds are planted during Waso, Wagaung and Tawthalin and transplanted during Tazaungmon. The chillies start to appear at about the month of Tabodwe, and in Tabaung they are plucked, and a second time in Kason and Nayon. In Rangoon, green chillies can be seen the whole year round.

KYET THUN (onions) are available in Rangoon at all times. In Pantanaw also, although onions are seasonal, they could get it all year round.

AR LU (potatoes): They did not have potatoes in Pathwe. They do not know when potatoes are grown and where. They only see potatoes in the market.

PAZUN-GYAUK (dried prawns). In Rangoon dried prawns are availabl at all times. In Pathwe the prawns are caught in the INS during the month of Pyatho when the water is still. They made only enough for their family.

BU THEE (bottle gourd fruit). This is ready for consumption from the month of Tabodwe right through Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Kason and Nayon the fruit becomes less and less plentiful.

KYAUNG SHAR-THEE appears once a year and only about the beginning of the rains. It can be eaten only during the two months of Waso and Wagaung.

DANYIN-THEE can be eaten from Kason right through to Thadingyut, both months inclusive.

THI HO YWET is eaten only in the camp. It can be seen in the market now (Tabaung month) but the family does not know the season in which it appears.

MAYAN-THEE (marian fruit) is first eaten during Tabodwe month and continues on till the month of Kason. In Rangoon too it is about the same. MAYAN THEE can be preserved in the form of pickle or as marian-in-salt.

HSU-BYOTE-YWET is eaten during the months of Kason, Nayon and Waso. In Rangoon also, it can be eaten only during these months.

SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin) although it appears seasonally it can be kept for about one year before eating, and is therefore available all year round.

THA KHWA THEE (cucumber) can be eaten from Tabaung month till about the month of Thadingyut.

HMO NA DO (water fern) can be eaten only during the rains in the months of Waso and Wagaung.

HMO (mushrooms). Mushrooms appeared in Pathwe three times in the year. Once during Waso month, once in Kason and Nayon and once in the month of Thadingyut. In Rangoon they are available only during two of these seasons- in Waso and in Thadingyut.

KAW BI DOKE (cabbage) is always on sale in Rangoon, while in Pathwe they were eaten mainly during the months of Tagu and Tabaung.

KANAN (crabs). In Pathwe crabs could be obtained during Kason, Nayon, Waso and Wagaung. In Rangoon the crabs on sale are huge ones obtained from the sea and they are available all the year round.

BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd) can be eaten in Tazaungmon, Nadaw, Pyatho, Tabodwe and Tabaung.

MAGYEE YWET (tamarind leaves) are eaten only during the months of Kason and Nayon, both in Pathwe and in the refugee camp.

KYAR YOE (lotus stalk). In Pathwe this appears during the four months of the rainy season - Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

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After that it disappears from the market. The family has not seen this once in Rangoon.

SADLAY CHI KAUK appears at the same time as HMO NA DO (water fern) during the rainy season, and can be eaten only during Waso and Wagaung.

ON SHI-YWET can only be eaten in the months of Tabaung and Tagu. They are perishable and are not consumed outside of these two months, whether in Rangoon or in Pathwe.

SHAUK-THEE (large lemons) both in Rangoon or in Pathwe are eaten during the rains-Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

MON-KYAR-YO was eaten only at charities, and very seldom made at home. U Myaing remembers seeing this during the months of Pyatho, Kason and Nayon. In Pathwe they used to have this at the charity during the month of Wasp - at the beginning of the Buddhist lent. In the camp they did not have this trifle during Waso.

HSA LUT is always available here, while it was not available at all in Pathwe.

MON-LAR-YWET. In Pathwe, this leaf was eaten during Thadingyut and Tazaungmon. In Rangoon, Ma Aye Myaing sees it in the market all through the year.

PEDI-BIN-PAUK (bean sprouts) were eaten during Kason, Nayon Waso and Wagaung back in Pathwe. This can be had any time in Rangoon.

TAMAR-GYIN (pickle of neem leaves) are available all year round in Rangoon, while in Pathwe they could be bought only in Tazaungmon and Nadaw from the country boats that came down from Upper Burma.

HPAN-GA-THEE. In both Pathwe and Rangoon, this fruit can be obtained only during the months of Waso and Wagaung.

PEIN NE-THEE (Jack fruit) can be eaten during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason, Nayon and Waso. There were not many Jack fruit trees in Pathwe.

PEIN-U. The season for PEIN U is the same both in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. It stretches from Thadingyut through to Nadaw both months inclusive.

ZEE-THEE (plums) appear on the trees from Tabaung to Tagu, but are available in dried form all throughout the year. Also as pickle.

THAN BYAR-THEE-HSA-SEIN (salted limes) are obtained from boats that come from Upper Burma during Tazaungmon and Nadaw. There were no plants in Pathwe, and U Myaing does not know the season for limes.

NANNAT-THEE (Pineapples) are available during Waso and Wagaung, both in Pathwe and in the refugee camp.

ON-THEE (coconuts). There were coconut palms back in Pathwe and coconuts could be had all year round. U Myaing does not know about Rangoon.

GYIN-THOKE. In Pathwe they ate this only at festivals and charities. In Rangoon it has to be bought if they desire to eat it.

KYAN (sugar cane) is plentiful in Pathwe during the months of Tawthalin, Thadingyut and Tazaungmon. It is available in greatly reduced quantity during the other months. U Myaing and family do not know the seasons in which sugar cane makes an appearance in Rangoon.

MALAKAR-THEE (guava fruit). The season for guava fruit is during the four months of Kason, Nayon, Waso and Wagaung. This holds true both for Pantanaw and the refugee camp.

PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit tozaya) was not eaten there because it was expensive. In Rangoon, Jack fruit can be eaten as TOZAYA from Tabaung. They do not know how long the season for this fruit lasts.

PE-MYIT (Goa bean roots) was not found at all in Pathwe. In Rangoon, it is eaten only for about one month - during the month of Tazaungmon.

PALAW PINAN-U. In both refugee camp and in Pantanaw this tuberous root is eaten during Thadingyut, Tazaungmon and Nadaw.

KAUK HNYIN-BAUNG (steamed treacle rice) is eaten most frequently during the months of Thadingyut, Tazaungmon and Nadaw. It is not eaten much during the other months of the year.

BEIN-MON. This trifle was not made at all in Pathwe. In camp it is available all year round.

PE GYAW (beans fried in meal). PE-GYAW is eaten in Rangoon throughout the year. In Pathwe it was usually made only in the months of Thadingyut, Tazaungmon and Nadaw.

MON-PIIT SALET is eaten here all the time, but in Pathwe only during the months of Pyatho and Tabodwe.

MON-KYO-LEIN is also eaten here all the time and in Pathwe only during Pyatho and Tabodwe.

MON-SEIN-BAUNG. In Pathwe MON SEIN BAUNG was eaten mainly during Kason, Nayon, Waso and Wagaung. In Rangoon it is made all the year round.

MON-ON NAUK. In Rangoon it was made very occasionally and without any regard to the time of the year.

HTANYET-CHAUNG (sticks of jaggery) were not made at all in Pathwe, In the refuge camp this trifl made an appearance only for one month - the month of Pyatho.

PATTANI was not found at all in Pathwe, while it is available here all throughout the year.

PE-BYOTE (boiled beans) is eaten here all the year but in Pathwe it made an appearance only during the four months of Waso, Wagaung, Tawthalin and Thadingyut.

THAR GU (sa[illegible] was not sold in Pathwe at all. In Rangoon it can be eaten at any time in the year.

MON-LET HAUNG was made in Pantanaw only during two months of the hot season. In Rangoon it is made during the eight months that comprise the hot and cold seasons.

MON-LEIT PYAR can be obtained in Rangoon at any time in the year. In Pathwe it was made only the two months of Tazaungmon and Nadaw. Fishermen living in places more remote from town than Pathwe come to Pathwe and exchange Ngapi and other products for the trifles like MON-LEIT-PYAR that are made there.

KHAUK MON was not found in Pathwe. In Rangoon this trifle is always on sale.

BU-THEE-GYAW (fried gourd fruit) is available in Rangoon all the time and in Pathwe during the eight months when the bottle gourd is in season.

THA-YET-THEE (mango fruit) is in season both in Pathwe and in Rangoon during the months of Tabodwe, Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. There are also other species, like the Bengal mango which bears fruit during the months of Waso andWagaung. Mangoes can be preserved in the form of pickle or of salted mangoes. In Rangoon, ripe mangoes can be obtained all year round since some are laid by in cold storage, but they are very expensive out of season and cost about three rupees each. 262 [369] [251]

MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe marians) appear during the months of Tabaung, Tagu, Kason and Nayon. In Nayon month the output of marian fruit lessens.

Consumption of NGAPI YE: NGAPI YE is available all the year round. In Pantanaw it was eaten every day for both meals of the day. Ten ticals of NGAPI YE lasted the family four meals. In camp it is consumed only occasionally - about four days in the month. Two and one half ticals are taken with each meal and this would add up to twenty ticals for the eight meals in the month.

Consumption of firewood: If all the firewood needed by the family in camp had to be bought, the consumption of firewood per month in the camp would amount to 200 pieces of Kanasoe wood at the rate of Rs. 4/- per 100 pieces. About 3 months ago they found that they did not need to buy any firewood at all as they could gather a sufficient amount of brushwood to serve in its place; but now none of the members of the family remain free to go in search of brushwood and all their requirements have to be bought. 313

In Pantanaw, their needs of firewood for cooking were filled by three huge Koko trees which they owned. This was also supplemented by the wood that they had to buy for processing the fish. Three tons of firewood would last 1½ or 2 months, costing Rs. 25/- per ton. The firewood for cooking did not cost anything beyond the two or three rupees that had to be paid to the person who cut down the branches.

Consumption of PAUK PAUK PYIN: This is not found in Rangoon at all. In Pantanaw it was eaten at charities, particularly the Waso month charity. Each member of the family ate about 10 ticals each, and 40 or 50 ticals were needed for all. This was eaten only once a year and even then not necessarily every year. 262 [796]

KAYE KAYAR is eaten in camp only about once a year. This is the Rangoon equivalent of PAUK PAUK PYIN. KAYE KAYAR is different in having no oil in it. One anna's worth weighs five ticals and six or seven people eat an anna's worth each at one eating.

In Pantanaw bread was sometimes eaten at SHIN PYUS (novitiation ceremonies). MON-HIN-GA was eaten at the beginning of the Buddhist lent, when PAUK PAUK PHIN, MON KYAR YOE and MON SEIN BAUNG were also eaten sometimes. KAUK HNYIN BAUNG was eaten at this time and also at U Myaing's daughter's naming ceremony. GYIN THOKE, LAPHET and tea were served during novitiation ceremonies, and Mandalay HTO MON was eaten during the naming ceremony. Sweet tea was also served during marriage ceremonies. Rice and curries were eaten at some of the bigger festivls. KAUK HNYIN was prepared for almost every ceremony or festival. [796]

In Rangoon, U Myaing had MON HIN GA and sweet tea on the full moon of Tasaungmon from a charity in the THAYET-TAW KYAUNG-TAIK. He also had some MON-HIN-GA not long ago at a head washing ceremony for a child. There are no charities held in the camp enclosure. [796]

Addenda

The following foods are added to list above. They are mainly supplementary dishes and trifles.

KYET HIN GA THEE (bitter gourd fruit dish) is characterized by a bitter taste. It was not used in Pathwe. In camp they have cooked this dish three times (three meals) for Daw Aw Zar when she fell sick. this was to clear away the bad taste in the mouth which she then experienced. Each meal required one fruit which cost one anna and weighed five ticals. KYET HIN GA THEE is not eaten at all otherwise.

KYET THUN BYU (garlic). In Pathwe one anna's worht of garlic weighs 2½ ticals, which is sufficient for cooking three meals with. Ma Aye Myaing could not remember the number of meals in which garlic is used, but she said that between twenty five and thirty ticals were consumed in each month. In the camp garlic is used during 40 meals a month. One anna buys 2 ticals, which lasts for 4 meals.

MON LAR U (radish). Pyatho and Tabodwe are the two Burmese months in which MON LAR U is in season. In Rangoon it can be obtained all through the year. Each eating in Rangoon requires six of these, weighing altogether 15 to 20 ticals, and costing 2 annas for the six. They are eaten 4 or 5 times a month here. In Pathwe MON LAR U was eaten 3 or 4 times a year. Six of them weighing 15 to 20 ticals in all are consumed at each eating. They were obtained in Pathwe in exchange for NGAPI.

NGAYOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corns, Zea Mays, Linn.) are used as a soup both in Pantanaw and in camp. In the camp one meal requires ten pepper corns or one anna's worth. In Pantanaw also the figures were the same - one anna for ten corns for one meal. In both places this was eaten 3 or 4 times a year.

HIN NY NWE (The spinach: spinacia oleracea, Linn.) is also eaten as a KYAW CHET and as a soup. This was not eaten at all in Pathwe although it was very cheap. They had not known how it would taste. In camp it has been consumed only once, and that time as a soup. On that occasion, 2 bundles containing 5 sprouts each were used. Each sprout weighed 10 ticals andcost an anna.

MON HNYIN (The mustard: Brassica Nigra, Koch) was not found at all in Pathwe. In the refugee camp they have eaten it during the months of Pyatho and Tabodwe. During those two months they had this for six meals, but not once since then. Two annas buys three sprouts of the MON HNYIN plant. This is eaten either as CHIN YE and also after being fried.

MEZALI LEAVES (the mezali, Cassia siamea, Lam.,) have been eaten only once before in the camp. On that occasion they were fried with prawns. The leaves, weighing about fifteen ticals, cost two annas. In Pathwe MEZALI leaves were obtained free and eaten during about six or seven meals a year. About fifteen to twenty ticals were necessary for each eating.

NAN NAN leaves (The coriander, coriandum sativum, Linn.) Coriander leaves are eaten only during the month of Pyatho which is the only month in which these leaves are in season. They were eaten in Pantanaw as TOZAYA by the family. In that single month they ate coriander leaves as TOZAYA during twenty meals. At each of these meals they consumed from seven and a half to ten ticals, costing about two or three annas for that amount. In Rangoon NAN NAN leaves can be obtained all the year round, but they have been eaten only during three or four meals within the past twelve months. Each eating required between two and a half ticals and five ticals, costing two annas.

PE NGAPI (soya sauce, Glycine soja, Sieb) has not been eaten by the family.

NAS NWIN or NA NWIN (The tumeric: curcuma longa, Linn). In Pantanaw one anna could buy two and a half ticals of tumeric which will last two or three months because it is used just to counteract the offensive smells of some fish and prawns and meat, and for this purpose just a pinch is sufficient. Thus in Rangoon the family has used only two annas worth of tumeric during the past twelve months. Three annas' worth of tumeric in the refugees' camp is about equivalent to one anna's worth here. This was used in every meal both in Pantanaw and in camp.

PUZUN DOKE (The Crayfish: Astacus sp.) Crayfish is available during the rains and during the working of the INS are obtained free. Each eating in Pantanaw required thirty to forty ticals at Rs. 2/- per viss. This was eaten during three or four meals a month. In Tawthalin, Thadingyut and Tasaungmon they are obtained free. PAZUN DOKE were available all the year round. In the refugee camp crayfish have not been eaten once.

HTAN MYIT (Palmyra root: Borassus flabellifer, Linn.) Palmyra root was eaten once in Pathwe, when some people who came down from Upper Burma brought them down and gave U Myaing's family about two or three hundred as a present. They are eaten after baking. In Rangoon they buy this root if they desire to eat it. U Myaing is the only one in the family who has eaten it here, and even he has had it only once. He bought two roots for two annas, and each of them weighed about one and a half or two ticals.

ARDARUT or THIN U (The Arrowroot: Curcuma angustifolia, Roxb.,) was obtained back in Pantanaw through the medium of barter. The season for arrowroot is Tasaungmon and ~~Nadaw~~ and was eaten once or twice in each of these two months. About fifty to sixty ticals were consumed at each eating at six annas per viss. Here in camp one anna's worth (2½ ticals) is eaten by U Myaing at each eating, which is only when he goes to town. U Myaing has eaten it four to six times during the last year. He consumed one anna's worth at each eating.

MIN GUT-THEE (The mangosteen: Garcinia mangostana, Linn.,). Mangosteen fruit is not eaten in Rangoon at all by the family and in Pathwe it was eaten only for its value as a part of a prescribed medicinal diet. There it was eaten about once a year when U Myaing returned from his business trip to Rangoon and brought back about fifteen fruit costing two or three rupees.

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DURIN THEE (The durian, Durio zibethinus, D.C.) has not been eaten once here. In Pathwe it was eaten only when U Myaing returned from his trip to Rangoon. Only two or three Durian fruit were consumed in a year. These fruit cost between Rs. 1/4 and Rs. 1/8 for each. Each fruit has a spiky covering and weighs about 60 to 70 ticals. There are several sections within and each contains a big seed which is itself inedible.

LEIN MAW THEE (oranges) have been eaten three times here. They have to be bought for Daw Aw Zar five for Re. 1/- at a time, and the others share her oranges whenever she eats them.

NGAPI GYAW . In camp eight or ten annas' worth of NGAPI GYAW lasts one meal or weighs about twelve and one half ticals. This has been eaten ten or fifteen times during the past year. It was eaten in Pathwe for every meal during ten out of the twelve months of the year. The NGAPI was obtained free in Pantanaw. (See section in "Work" for method of making NGAPI.)

NGAPI ANYAR CHET. This is NGAPI cooked as in Upper Burma, that is, mixed with tamarind, etc., to flavour it with sour ingredients. This was eaten only during about two or three meals in the year. Twenty to twenty five ticals lasts two meals. In the last twelve months this has been eaten five or six times. Eight annas buys ten ticals of NGAPI here.

NGAPI YE GYO (NGAPI mixed with water). Ten ticals lasts three meals. Ten ticals cost four annas. This form of NGAPI is eaten during ten months out of twelve, two meals every day. In Pathwe it was eaten twelve months out of twelve. Each eating required about two and a half ticals or three ticals. This was obtained free.

KHAUK HSWE (Wheat noodles) were not eaten in Pathwe except by U Myaing who ate it three or four times a month in Pantanaw town. At each eating he consumed about 8 annas' worth. It has been eaten only once here - cooked with chicken as a soup. On that occasion they ate 25 ticals worth eight annas.

GYE THEE is not eaten here. In Pathwe it was obtained free from Karen plantations. Only about ten or fifteen fruit were eaten in the whole year. These were very small fruit weighing one tical each and gutie unlike the larger town variety.

ZI BYU THEE (Plum-white-fruit). One condensed milk tinful of ZI BYU THEE cost one anna. This was eaten only three or four times a year. One condensed milk tin is sufficient for two meals. In Rangoon during the last twelve months they have eaten itten times in all. One anna buys five or six fruit. It is cooked as a dish.

MON LON GYI is made with peas, coconut, and sugar. They are round trifles, the outside coverings of which are made of ground KAUK HNYIN and rice, mixed with water and steamed in a PAUNG GYAUNG. PE LUN beans are then boiled and mixed with coconut scrapings and sugar, after which this mixture is placed in the round outer coverings each of which weighs about five ticals. These balls are then fried in oil. In Pathwe this was available all the year round, and was eaten about twenty to twenty-five times a year. Each eating took six one anna pieces, each weighing about six ticals. They have not seen this trifle in Rangoon at all.

PE MON HSOT (Rice - mixed). This comes in the form of round white balls. Peas are mixed with white rice flour which has been made into a dough with the addition of water. This is then made into round balls which are sliced and sold. In Pantanaw each eating for the six members of U Myaing's family required twenty ticals. This was eaten six or seven times a year and available all year round. It is not eaten here and in fact is not found here at all.

MON BAUNG DAUNG. First, rice is ground and then mixed with water and jaggery and steamed, and then eaten with pounded sessamum seeds and salt, and coconut scrapings and oil. In Pantanaw about one condensed milk-tin of rice was sufficint for all the members of the family for one meal. If this trifle was purchased one anna's worth weighing five ticals, was consumed by each one. This was eaten about five or six times a year in Pantanaw. In the camp this has not been eaten and has not been seen at all. U Myaing, however, concedes that it may be sold in Rangoon, in these localities which they do not frequent "Rangoon being such a big city."

MON HSAN Appears in Pathwe during the month of Tazaungmon. KAUK HNYIN (sticky rice) has to be roasted and then pounded, resulting in a glutinous mass which has to be then eaten either with sugar of coconut. Each eating in Panataw requried about one to one and a half PYI of KAUK HNYIN for the whole family. This measure of treacle rice yields about four condensed milk tins of MON HSAN. When bought one condensed milk tin of MON HSAN cost two annas. They usually bought five or six milk tins full of this trifle for every one in the immediate family as well as some of the closer relatives who lived in the village. In Pantanaw it was eaten only once a year in the month of Tazaungmon. In Rangoon it has not been eaten once as yet by the family.

HSA NWIN MA KIN . Rice flour is mixed with water and placed on fire and tumeric is mixed with it. It has to be eaten with coconut milk. In Pantanaw it was eaten about two or three times a year, since it was available only during the months of Thadingyut and Tazaungmon when the sellers start making this trifle. At each eating the family consumed six to eight annas' worth, weighing about thirty ticals for consumption for the whole family. In camp it has not been eaten at all

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because they do not feel like doing so.

(Chinese bird nest)

KYAUK CHAW is made by boiling strands of/gelantinous material until the separate strands dissolve. When this is allowed to cool, it solidifies, and it is then cut up and sold either as a trifle in the form of slabs, or as a cooling drink after being cut up into very small pieces and mixed with iced water and sugar. In Pantanaw this was sold during Tabaung and Tagu months in the hot season. Six to eight annas' worth were bought at a time, one anna's worth weighing five ticals. This was eaten in Pantanaw about ten times a year. In Rangoon they have not had this at all because "they do not feel like it."

MON-KYWE-THE. One PYI of rice is ground into a rice flour and is mixed in water with one viss of jaggery. The whole mixture is then boiled in water until the rice paste and the liquid jaggery solidifies again, when some lime and soda are poured in. The trifle is then ready for sale or home consumption. It has to be eaten with coconut scrapings. In Rangoon and in Pantanaw it was eaten two or three times a year during the months of Kason and Nayon, and the months of Tasaungmon and Nadaw. In camp it is sold all year and eaten about fifteen times in the month, but the two small children are the only consumers from the family. Five ticals (one anna's worth) sometimes suffices for the two of them and sometimes they have to be given five ticals each.

ZAUNG YA-THEE is a TOZAYA and eaten either with NGAPI water or with salt. These fruit are about three or four inches long, and are made up of four or five flat sections. One flat edge of each of these sections meets the others in the pith of the fruit, with the consequence that a cross section of the fruit reveals the shape of a star. Each ZAUNG YA fruit weighs between five and ten ticals and is sufficient for the whole family for one meal, as it is extremely sour. In Pathwe these were available only during the months of Kason and Nayon - that is, the months just before the rainy season. ZAUNG YA fruit was eaten only about once or twice a year. They had to be bought at one anna each and sometimes obtained them free. They are not used in Rangoon.

Sample Meals

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The type and quality of food prepared for consumption in one day (two meals) in camp for the family was analysed. Both meals consisted of boiled rice plus a single dish or curry. The trifles eaten during the day are also noted. Ma Aye Myaing was asked to save identical amounts of the food eaten. The eldest daughter was absent during the day so the food was consumed by Ma Aye Myaing, U Myaing, Daw Aw Zar and the three younger daughters (6 all told).

First Meal (7:30 a.m.)

The rice was boiled and steamed; the other ingredients were fried together into a curry dish (PAN MONLA and PUZUN GYAW - cauliflower and prawn fry). The weight of the items are given below in grams.

Item	Weight in Grams
HSAN (rice: oriza, LINN.), 4½ tins, dry	1124
Water for boiling rice	1530
PAN MONLA (Cauliflower: Brassica oleraces, LINN., Sub-species botrytis), 2	481
PAZUN ZIET (prawn: carago Sp.)	122
Sesamum oil	59
KYET-THUN-U-GYI (onions: Allium cepa, LINN.), 4	52
NGAN-PYAR-YE (fish water)	11
NGANYOK-THEE (dried red chillies pounded: capsicum annuum, LINN.)	12
salt (sodium chloride), plain	9
BAMA LA PHET CHAUK (tea leaves: camellia thea, link)	5
Total	3405

3 trifles MONSAN, MA-YWAY (puffed rice sticks held together with jaggery) each measuring 2" by 3½" by 1" and weighing in all 126 grams were eaten by the 3 children in the late forenoon. (Jaggery is juice of palmya palm. BORASSUS FLABELLIFER, LINN.)

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Second Meal (5:00 p.m.)

Steamed rice was eaten with a fish curry dish (NGA BYAY MA CHIN HIN)

Item	Weight in Grams
Rice (same type and amount as 1st meal)	1124
Water for boiled rice..................	1530
NGA PYAY MA (climbing Anabas testiduna), 13 fish........	281
Garlic..............................	6
Onions..............................	15
Chillies (pounded)..................	22
MA GYI-THEE (tamarind)	37
Salt	10
Sessamum oil	28
NGAN-PYAR-YE	23
Water used in curry	261
Total	3337

In the afternoon 1 anna's worth of PE KWAY GYAW trifle (grounded grams fried in groundnut oil after moulding, Grams are chick peas: Cicer ariétinum, LINN., groundnuts are peanuts: Arachis hypogaea, LINN.) weighing 32 grams were bought for the children.

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Table:- An average estimate of major Foods consumed by U Myaing's family. (Number of meals per month over quantity per meal in parenthesis.)

Item	Food consumed in Pathne	 Camp
HSAN (rice)	60 (5 milk tins)	60 (5½ milk tins)
Fish	30 eaten when other meats not eaten. (50 ticals)	4 (12½ ticals)
Prawns	10 (25 ticals)	15 (15 ticals)
KALABE (Dhall beans)	5 (25 ticals)	25 (25 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	 Camp
Chicken	8 (whole fowl) 50-60 ticals	0
Duck	8 (50 ticals)	0
Beef	8 (50 ticals)	0
Pork	10 (25 ticals)	2 (25 ticals)
Duck eggs	3 (5 eggs)	0
KHANYAN THEE (brinjal fruit)	7 (5 fruits)	10 (16 fruits)
PE LINMYE THEE (snake gourd)	8 (2 gourds)	10 (3 gourds)
PE THEE (beans)	3 (25 beans)	4 (25 beans)
NGAYOTE THEE ACHAUK (dried chillies)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (5 chillies)
KYET THUN NI (onions)	60 (1/20 viss)	60 (1/20 viss)
AR LU (potatoes)	4 Prepared only for pongyis. (50 ticals)	5 (33 ticals)
HSA (salt)	With fried fish only (12½ ticals a month).	60 (1.3 ticals)
NGAN PYAR YE (fish juice)	60 (5 ticals, 6 spoonfuls)	60 (2 ticals - 2 spoonfuls)
HNAN HSI (Sessamum oil)	60 (3.3 ticals)	60 (1 tical)
KYAN TAGAR (cane jaggery)	2 (2½ ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
HTIN (firewood)	60 (5 pieces)	60 (3 pieces)
BAMA LAPHET CHAUK (tea leaves)	60 (2.5 teaspoons ful)	60 (2.5 teaspoon fuls)
BU THEE (gourd fruit)	4 (1 slice 1 1½' by 2")	2 (½ slice)
DAN DALUN THEE (drumstick fruit)	0	2 (25 fruits)

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(continued)

Item	…ood consumed in	
	Pathwe	Camp
YON PADE THEE(Lady's finger fruit)	4 (10 fruit)	.25 (10 fruit)
KAZUN YWET (Rabbit green leaf)	5 (1 bundle)	10 (1 bundle)
KYAUNG SHAR THEE (fruit)	10 (1 fruit)	.1 (1 fruit)
DANYIN THEE (small fruit)	Every day in season. (10 fruits)	5 (10 fruits)
THAYET YWET (Mango leaf)	3 (5 leaves)	0
MAYAN THEE (Marian fruit)	6 (6 fruits)	2 (6 fruits)
HSU BOTE YWET (Acacia leaves)	3 (5 leaves)	0
SHWE PAYON THEE (golden pumpkin)	4 (½ fruit)	0
THAKWA THEE (cucumber)	3 (1 fruit 1' by 2")	5 (1 fruit 8" by 2")
HMO NA DO (water fern leaves)	.4 (8 leaves)	.1 (8 leaves)
HMO (mushrooms)	3 (50 ticals)	0
KAN PI DOK (cabbage)	2 (1 cabbage 7" diam.)	3 (25 ticals)
BU NYUNT (tender shoots of bottle gourd)	5 5 sprouts	.25 4 sprouts
MA GYEE YWET (tamarind leaves)	5 (5 ticals)	0
KYAR YO (lotus stalk)	3 (5 stalks)	0
SAR LAY CHE DAUK (sprouts)	2 (1 bundle)	0
OH SHI YWET (leaves of bael fruit)	3 (6 leaves)	0
SHAUK THEE (large lemons)	0	3 (3 fruit)
MON KYAR YOE trifle (lotus stalk shaped trifle)	4 trifles	0
MON LET HAUK trifle (bracelet shaped trifle)	0	3 (4 trifles)

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Food consumed in

Item	Pathwe	Camp
MON OT KALAY trifle (small cover trifle)	0	2½ (8 trifles)
MON SALIN DAUNG trifle. (circular trifle)	0	4 (4 trifles)
HSALUT YWET (leaves of lettuce)	0	3 (2 sprouts)
MON LAR YWET (carrot leaves)	3 (6 sprouts)	0
PEDI BIN BAUK (bean sprouts)	0	(once only) (25 ticals)
TAMAR YWET (leaves of neem)	0	2 (1 bundle)
HPAN GA THEE (fruit)	0	4 (10 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE (Jack fruit)	.3 (⅓ fruit)	.25 (¼ fruit)
PAZUN NGABAUNG GYAN (prawns fried in meal.)	6 (40 prawns)	.1 (20 prawns)
NGA NGABAUNG GYAN (fish fried in flour)	0	4 (3 fish pieces)
THAYET THEE THANAT (mango pickle)	3 (4 pieces)	10 (4 pieces)
MAYAN THEE THANAT (marian pickle)	0	Sampled only
ZEE YO (plum jam)	1 (1 tea cup)	5 (½ teacup)
THAYET THEE HSA SEIN (salted mangoes)	10 (1 mango)	0
MAYAN THEE HSA SEIN (salted marians)	Almost every day (6 marians)	0
NAR NAT YO (pineapple jam)	0	once only (5 ticals)
THAYET YO (mango jam)	.25 (1 teacup)	0
KAZUN U (sweet potato)	10 (50 ticals)	once only (50 ticals)
MON LAR U GYAN (fried carrots)	3 (30 ticals)	0
THIN BAW THEE CHIN YE (Sour dish of paapiya fruit)	4 (30 ticals)	0
BAR LAY CHI GYAN	0	every day 5

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	Food consumed in	
Item	Pathwe	Camp
PEIN U (taro tuber)	4 (30 ticals)	0
GYIN THOKE (mixed ginger dish)	.4	5 (5 ticals)
AR PON (concave shaped trifle)	Every day (4 ticals)	0
KYAN (sugar cane)	6 (7 stalks)	occasionally (4 stalks)
KYET THUN GYAW (fried onion trifle)	3	3 (4 pieces)
MALAKAR THEE (guava fruit)	6 (5 fruits)	almost every day (12 fruits)
PEIN NE THEE TOZAYA (Jack fruit as TOZAYA)	.9 (1 fruit)	.4 (1 fruit)
PAUK PAUK HSOTE (puffed rice trifle)	3 (3 teacupsful)	0
KAYE KALAR (puffed rice trifle)	2 (12.5 ticals)	0
PAUK PAUK PYIN (puffed rice with jam trifle)	"widely consumed"	0
NANNAT THEE (pineapple)	0	4 (1 fruit)
PE MYIT (Goa bean roots)	rarely	only once (6 roots)
PALAW PINAN (Tapioca tubers)	7 (50 ticals)	2 (10 ticals)
MON HINGA (bitter curry	4 (50 ticals)	5 (2½ ticals)
KAUKHNYIN BAUNG. (steamed treacle rice)	3 (25 ticals)	Every day (15 ticals)
BEIN MON (wheel-shaped trifle)	3 (20 ticals)	2
PE GYAW (fried peas in meal)	4 (4)	2 (¼)
MON PYIT SALET ("worthless" cake trifle)	4 (4)	2 (4)
MON KYO LEIN (twisted rope trifle)	5 (6)	4 (6)
MON SEIN BAUNG (steamed raw trifle)	10 (20 ticals)	.2 (20 ticals)
MON ON HNAUK (brain trifle)	2 (15 ticals)	0
MON KYWE THE (cake-buffalo-heart)	.25 (5 ticals)	15 (8 ticals)

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Item	Food consumed in Pathwe	Food consumed in Camp
HTANYET CHAUNG (jaggery sticks trifle)	0	10 (3)
PE GYI LLAW (roasted big beans trifle)	5 (12½ ticals)	8 (10 ticals)
MAY BE (groundnuts or peanuts)	4 (two condensed milk tins)	2 (4 ticals)
PATTANI (pea seed trifle)	0	.1 (4 annas worth)
PE BYOTE (boiled beans)	every morning (12½ ticals)	every morning (12½ ticals)
THAR GU (sago)	2 (6 saucers)	.4 (6 saucers)
MON LET HSAUNG (trifle made by cooling)	5 (4 cups)	3 (4 cups)
MON LEIT PYAR (Butterfly trifle)	0	6 (20 ticals)
KHAUK MON (trifle folded in half)	0	6 (2)
BU THEE GYAW (fried gourd fruit)	4 (7)	0
NGA PYAW GYAW (fried plantains)	3 (13)	0
ZEE THEE (plum)	4 (2 milk tins)	0
MAYAN THEE AHME (ripe marians)	5 (10)	Almost every day in season (30)
THAYETTHEE AHME (ripe mangoes)	5 (10)	.3 6
NGA PYAW THEE (bananas)	5 (13, 1bunch)	5 (1 bunch)
THAGYAR LON (sugar ball candy)	0	8 (2)
CHO CHIN (Sweet-sour candy)	0	3 (6)
KYET HINGA THEE (bitter gourd fruit)	0	3 times only
KYET THUN BYU (garlic)	40 (.9 ticals)	40 (.5 ticals)
MON LAR U (radish)	.25 (6 fruits)	5 (6 fruits)
HIN NU NWE (spinach)	0	once only (2 sprouts)
ZAUNG YA THEE (edges-line-fruit)	.11 (8 ticals)	0

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Item	Food consumed in Patinee	Food consumed in Camp
NGA YOTE KAUNG ZE (pepper corn)	.25 (10 corns)	.25 (10 corns)
MEZALI leaves	.50 (15 ticals)	once only
NAN NAN (coriander leaves)	20 in season (7½ ticals)	.25 (3 ticals)
HSANWIN (tumeric)	60 (a pinch)	60 (a pinch)
PAZUN DOKE (Crayfish)	4 (35 ticals)	0
HTAN KYIT ((Palmyra root)	once only	only once (2 roots)
ARDARLUT (arrow root)	.15 (55 ticals)	.5 (2½ ticals)
MINGUT THEE (mangosteen)	once only	0
DUYIN THEE (durian)	.25 (1 fruit)	0
LEIN MAW THEE (oranges)	0	3 times only (5 fruits)
NGAPI GYAW (fish-pickle-fried).	50	1.1 (12½ ticals)
NGAPI ANYAR CHET (fish-pickle liquid-cooked)	.25 (25 ticals)	.5 (25 ticals)
NGAPI YE GYO (ngapi with water)	60 (3 ticals)	50 (2½ ticals)
KHAUK HSWE (wheat noodles)	4 (U Myaing) (25 ticals)	once only (25 ticals)
GWE THI (fruit)	1 (1 fruit)	0
ZEE BYU THEE (plum-white-fruit).	.3 (½ mild tin)	.9 (½ milk tin)
MON LON GYI (cake-round-fried)	2 (36 ticals)	0
PE MON HSOT (bean-cake-ball)	.6 (20 ticals)	0
MON DAING DAUNG (cake-shuttle-stick).	.5 (1 milk tin)	0
MON HSAN (sticky rice dish)	every day in season. (4 milk tins)	0
HSA NWIN MA KIN (foreign expression Burmanised)	.25 (30 ticals)	0
KYAUK KYAW (stone-smooth)	.9 (40 ticals)	0

Analysis of Food Consumption

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Table p.99 gives a rough idea of the food consumption in Pathwe and Camp - summarising the foregoing data. Whatever the degree of absolute accuracy, this data is felt to be especially valuable in giving the relative consumption of items in the two areas. In general, the food pattern of Pathwe was not broken in camp but it was rather severely modified by the dropping of the more expensive and unavailable items and substitution of cheaper, available ones. The direction of the change is clear, the degree and specific nature of the change is discussed below.

Table . Summary incident of use of food items by U Myaing's family

Place and Use of Items	Frequency	Proportion
Items used only in Pathwe	40	31%
Items used only in camp	23	17%
Items used in both places: 1. But more frequently in Pathwe	30	23%
2. But more frequently in camp	24	18%
3. Same frequency in both places	13	10%
Total:	130	99%

These gross figures indicate that only a small proportion of the Pathwe complex (13items) have remained unchanged, over ¼ of the Pathwe complex (40 items) have been discarded, and the frequency of use of the rest shifted: 23 new items are added to the camp complex. A drastic change is thus demonstrated although the camp complex has only 17 items less than the Pathwe complex.

The gross idea of the shift in quantity of food used in both Pathwe and camp is gained from the following table:

Table . Variation in quantity of food per meal used at both Pathwe and Camp by U Myaing's family

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Same amount used in camp as in Pathwe	31	46%
A greater amount used in camp than in Pathwe	6	9%
A lesser amount used in camp than in Pathwe	23	34%

Type of Variation	Frequency	Proportion
Non-comparable items	7	10%
Totals:	67	99%

This table shows the relatively high proportion of food items that are used in lesser quantities than in Pathwe.

The factor of quality could not be controlled in this survey - and since it was not mentioned by the informants we may assume that it is neglegible and may be disregarded.

The type of food in which the changes have taken place, along with the reasons given for the shifts give us a comprehensive picture of what has taken place.

Most of the items which did not change in frequency from Pathwe to camp are staples including : rice, fish juice, sessamum oil, tea leaves, chillies, PE BYOTE beans, firewood, onions, garlic, and tumeric that are used every day. However, the only one of this group to increase in quantity was the rice - due to the growing children. Fish juice consumption dropped ⅓ but was supplemented by the addition of salt for flavouring. Sessamum oil also dropped about the same proportions due to lack of extensive frying. The drop in firewood was supplemented by brush fragments collected around camp. Inexpensive items which were cheaper in Rangoon or just as cheap as Pathwe including onions, garlic, PE BYOTE beans, and tea were maintained at the same level.

The most severe drop was in meats (chicken, duck, beef, pork) which in all were included in approximately half of the meals each month in Pathwe, but were discontinued because they could not be afforded in camp. The fish consumption also dropped to about 1/7 th of what it had been . In Pathwe fish and fish products were free from the IBS which U Myaing worked. This deficiency is supplemented to a certain extent by prawns but especially by the inexpensive KALABE or dhall beans which in camp become a staple eaten almost every day. Whereas it was used only occasionally in Pathwe as a food definitely not preferred. A number of inexpensive fruits and vegetables including brinjals, snake gourd, rabbit greens, cucumber, guava fruit, ripe marians, become important in supplementing the camp diet increasing double or more in frequency of use of each case with an increase in quanity per meal that reflects the growing

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capacity of the children. By eating the fruits in season they are secured relatively cheaply and in sufficient quantities.

The greatest part of the food items used in Pathwe but not in camp were specialty dishes and trifles for which substitutions could be made in some cases. Most were missed and desired in varying degrees although they were too expensive in Rangoon or not available. A few, although available, were not purchased because the family "didn't feel like it." A large number of items in this group including the tree leaves and stalks were obtained free in Pathwe, either for the picking or as gifts, and were prepared at home (salting and drying) without cost to the family. Such items (the fish products above are included) accrued to the family because of its situation or position in the village. The food gifts from the government agencies caring for refugees are in a comparable catagory for the family's camp position - but, of course, were staples rather than the specialty items of Pathwe The opportunities for gathering of food ingredients in and around the camp are poor because the land is in special (shade , etc.) trees and besides is privately owned. The camp is a good five or ten miles from good gathering areas. As an IN (large trap) fisherman U Myaing is not interested in line fishing even if it were possible to get to fishing areas.

Most of the items used in camp for the first time are trifles often never seen before coming to Rangoon - but quite similar to the trifles used in Pathwe. The consumption of trifles has risen sharply in camp but most go to the younger children. Possibly the sweet tid-bits compensate for the lack of the more satisfying Pathwe diet.

These are much more plentiful in camp and the temptation to spend on trifles, especially to please the children, is great.

A few items (bean-sprouts in prawns, spinach soup) are tried for the first time in camp and not repeated although the ingredients may be cheap. An element of choice still persists in camp although it is greatly restricted by costs.

In general, the data indicates that the Pathwe food pattern was not broken in the camp adjustment but was modified in the direction of simplification in which the more expensive items of the Pathwe diet were

were dropped in favour of cheaper Rangoon products. The new items added to the diet in camp were either similar to those of Pathwe or known before. No real innovations were attempted with success. 262 264 178

SOCIAL AND CEREMONIAL ACTIVITIES

An attempt will be made under this heading to present some of the major routine activities carried out by U Myaing's family in every day life. Because of the complex nature of the socio-ceremonial activities it will be possible only to outline the more important of these activities. They may be grouped under the headings of (1) activities concerning the family relations, (2) activities relating the family to their community and state and (3) activities relating the family to the supernatural. Wherever possible the Pathwe situation will be compared to that of the refugee camp. 128

Family Relations

Marriage

U Myaing's account of the initial step in the formation of a family is of some interest. When a couple in love have money, they might marry with a proper ceremony; when they do not, they have to elope. U Myaing eloped with his wife. Some people take this course because the parents are not agreeable to the match. Others feel that it takes too much trouble and time to get married with proper ceremony. Others again elope because they do not like the match made for them by parents. U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing gave as reason the point that it took too long and too much trouble to get properly married. Also at that time they could not afford to spend a great deal of money. 583

Some time after elopement there are attempts either on the part of the parents or the elders of the village to effect a reconciliation between the parties concerned. The couple does not usually take the initiative in these proceedings "because the young man is in the position of one who has stolen something from the girl's parents" and consequently has to lie low. The reconciliation takes place through the elders of the village, who approach the parents and request them to take back the young couple. Some couples stay away seven days, some a month, and some a year before rejoining the parental fold. The reconciliation itself is somewhat similar to a wedding ceremony, and

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20. CLEANING RICE WITH THE HAND-MILL.

in every town. A basket (*din*, bushel) of cleaned rice (*san*) costs three to four rupees, and lasts a man about a month. The loss of volume in cleaning is about twenty-five per cent., and the cost of the unhusked grain about one-third of that of rice. For cakes and sweets, rice is ground with water in the Indian stone hand-mill. After [262] first soaking, it is passed through the mill repeatedly until it forms a creamy fluid, which is strained and used while fresh. Wheaten bread is a novelty.

342 322 The houses in Burma are mostly built of bamboo. The giant bamboo (*wabô*), a denizen of the evergreen hills, is cultivated in the plains for house-posts and masts and side-buoys of boats. Its culms attain a height of eighty feet and a girth at the butt of two feet. Every bamboo jungle supplies the [313] rest of the material for the house. No tools are needed for bamboo work, but the universal *dâ*—a sabre, trimmer, chopper, according to its proportions [412] (No. 231). With the *dâ* the bamboos are hewn, split open and slit into withes (*hnî*) for lashing. Thin-walled bamboos are opened out into broad planks for the walls of the houses (*tayân*). Stout thick-walled bamboos are shaped into narrow planks for flooring, or the floor is laid of round bamboos laced down at intervals. Loose planks of wood are becoming general for floors, even in houses built of bamboo (p. 119). Every Burman can handle the *dâ*, but not so expertly as the hill people. [243] The house-posts, floor-girders, and principal frames are frequently of timber, and outlast several relays of the bamboo-work, which decays in a few seasons. The inducement to keep a material clean and neat which has soon to be replaced is not great, and engenders negligent habits. In the better houses, bamboo is only used for the walling and the roof rafters.

121. WINNOWING GRAIN IN THE WIND.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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[312]
[271]
[482]
252
[805]

137. CARRYING HOME THE WATER-POTS.

fuel is required only for cooking and in manufactures.

Rice is the staple of every meal, except in the dry zone. The millet and sorghum which there take the place of rice are cooked in the same way but need longer boiling. "A rice-boiling" (*ta-ô-dyét*) is the common phrase for an interval of about twenty minutes. After washing in several waters, rice is put to boil in an earthen pot with enough water to cover it, and boiled till the grains are quite clear. The rice-water is poured off, and the rice is put back on the fire to steam. Rice is cooked fresh for every meal and is eaten hot. A relish is made to eat with the rice, consisting of a watery stew of fresh greens or of pulse. The fat used is sesamum oil (*hnan-zi*). This curry is seasoned with turmeric (*sanwin*), capsicum (*ngayôtthi*—chilli), and either salt-fish or *ngapi* (p. 92). Fresh fish, prawns, or meat are added if available. In default of cultivated vegetables, wild greens of all sorts, bamboo-shoots and sprouting leaves, are used. Pickles of lime and other
[263] fruits are used as separate relishes. There are
two meals in the day, both of the same nature.
264 The morning meal is eaten at about nine
415 o'clock, the other before dark. Meals are
taken by the household in common. The
[271] housewife or daughter gets mats ready in the *kyaunding* and places in the centre a *byat*—a large, deep, wooden platter, lacquered red—into which she turns out the cooked rice (*tamin*). In the middle of the rice is set a bowl with the curry and a spoon. The family squat round the *byat*, or if a large household round several.

138. STAND FOR THE DRINKING-WATER.

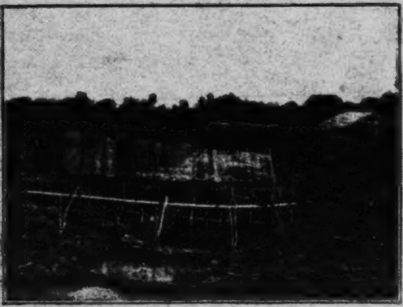
25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

193. DIBBING WITH FLY.

Next to the rice-industry the greatest industry of Burma is the catching and curing of fish. 226 [227] Unlike the rice, the fish is entirely for local consumption. The fisherman [779] gets his living by taking life, contrary to the cardinal injunction of the Buddha—"let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so." The subterfuge which the specious resort to in using animal food, namely, that they had no share in the act of taking life, was thus provided against by the Buddha in the form of his injunction. The Burman is a kind master to his animals, but much cruel suffering results from [231] neglect of injuries, such as *dà*-cuts, often inflicted in temper. The merit of putting a suffering creature out of pain is not recognised or is denied. The reluctance to take life is operative in preventing the people at large from [262] obtaining other animal food than fish.

194. CAGING FISH SINGLY (SAUNG-TO)

But such is the craving for flesh that the Burmans will consume that of animals dead from natural causes and of many animals commonly rejected for food. [227] The Burmans do not eat the flesh of the monkey, dog, parrot and crow. The ways of taking fish are legion. Hooks are used with bait and also to mount a fly for dibbing (*han laik*). A contrivance to be seen along the banks of every river is the *hmyon*, a cage trap with falling door for large fish. Fish-spearing is practised by day and also by torch-light at night. On the largest scale, fish are taken by drawing off the water from the flat lagoons which form in the depressions of the *kwin* (*in*, p. 49). Screens of bamboo or reeds are set in the channels while the floods are



198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

226 ●[262] banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

226 251 Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hmwè.* After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over
a furnace. Iron caul-
[178] drons like those in
No. 186 are supersed-
[415] ing the earthen pots,
and the round cauldron
is in its turn being re-
placed by a flat iron
[227] pan.

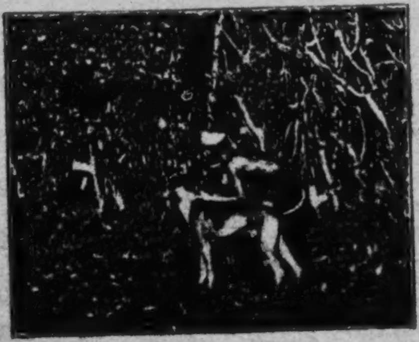
The chase, so far
224 from forming the diver-
sion of princes and
satraps, remains to the
vauriens of the villages

199. SHORE NET

902. SETTING NETS FOR DEER.

which a second party is in hiding with dogs. At a sign, the dogs are slipped and the deer chased headlong into the nets, where they are caught or cut down before they can get clear. *Sat* and *thamin*, which would clear the net at a bound, are coursed with greyhounds of local breed (*Kamâbi*) when they have ventured far enough into the open. The Burmans have been acquainted with firearms since the fourteenth century of our era. Saltpetre they obtained by percolating with water the droppings of bats accumulated in caves, and boiling down the lye; it was also obtained from certain marshes; sulphur probably came from China. The old flint-lock is still a favourite, because the ammunition is easy to procure. Weapons were bad, and the *mósò* is a poor marksman; but he manages to approach very near to his quarry. Cross-bows, snares, and traps for game are used by the hill people, in default of firearms. Such venison as is obtained is hurried off to the nearest market town, where it is retailed fresh. If it cannot be thus disposed of, it is cut into strips and sun-dried. Next to deer, the chief quarry is the wild pig. Wild buffaloes ("bison," *pyaung*) frequent the forests. In a few localities a wild ox is found (*saing*). A wild goat lives in some of the rocky limestone hills. The hare and the partridge are common in the open country of the dry zone and the plateau-land of the hills. Peacocks are not uncommon in some localities, but are nowhere so abundant as in India. A silver pheasant (*yit*) is common in the bamboo forests. The great argus occurs in the extreme south. Wild or jungle fowl (*taw-dyet*) are common in all the dry forests. Decoy-birds are used for snaring these, and also the ring-doves (*dyo*). Ducks,

224
[231]
411
389
[262] ●
224
136



903 KAMABI DOG

[231]

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[illegible]. CLOTH BAZAR.

At intervals on the main lines of
485 traffic are refreshment-booths, where fruit,
265 sweetmeats, and tea are sold. Meals can
be taken in the markets of the towns.
In the villages casual travellers enjoy the
hospitality of the people. In the afternoon
the markets are closed; low tables
are set in the roads, where cheroots, fruit,
and sweetmeats are sold in the evening.
Some of these refreshments are prepared
●[262] on the spot, such as the *mônlebwè*, a wafer
baked in the flame of a fire, in which it
rises to an immense size.

The wholesale trade of Burma is con-
442 ducted by brokers (*pwèza*) who receive a
471 commission. Wealthy men operate with
their own capital, others find investors and
426 money-lenders to advance funds, some
form partnerships and small companies to divide profits. Producers frequently
[256] bring their grain direct to the mills; but the bulk of the grain is bought up by
the native brokers to the order of the exporters, most of whom never visit the
interior. The interest on money is one to six per cent. per mensem. What is not hoarded in the form of plate and ornaments is put into trade or is put out to interest. Money-lending is not a special business because everybody practises it. Appalling as is the rate of interest—the measure of risk—such hard bargains are not driven as in India. Debtors when sold up can nowhere make a new start so well as in Burma. Brokers do banking in a small way; but banking has been made a regular branch of business by the Chettis from India (No. 364), who pay as much as one per cent. per month on deposits and charge one and a half per cent. on loans fully secured. European banks and investments with their high security and low rates of interest do not attract Burman capital.

[illegible]. NIGHT BAZAR.

505 The carrying business is mainly by water, for which Burma possesses unrivalled facilities, especially in the floods

quite frequently help in rearing their grandchildren, telling them stories and 603
teaching them the Buddhist scriptures.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Birth and Infancy. When a woman is pregnant her dreams are considered 843
especially significant. She is expected to remember those of her dreams that con- 787
cern what her child will be like. The welfare of the child is forecast by some dreams: a dream of only one of things that normally are paired, such as earrings, bodes ill, possibly death, of the child in infancy; a dream of her viscera coming out indicates a great future for the child. Persistent dreams of a particular deceased individual are indicative of whose reincarnation the child will represent.
In all forebodings of ill the normal counter-measure is to consult a Buddhist [751]
monk or an astrologer, who may give the prospective mother an inscribed *mantra* (prayer) to keep or some amulet for the child to wear as protection.

Although the Burmese woman need not avoid any specific foods during her [262] ●
pregnancy, strong spices are regarded as harmful.

No supernatural means are employed to influence the sex of the prospective offspring. Certain signs are considered prognosticative: if the pregant woman's stomach is pointed, a boy will be born, whereas a broad, flat stomach indicates a girl is in prospect.

Pregnancy among the Burmese is considered a time of great happiness; the woman is greatly indulged and pampered by all concerned.

When the time for delivery approaches any other pregnant women in the 844
household must depart, lest their presence impede labor. Usually the woman's mother, grandmother, or aunt, in addition to a midwife, assists at birth. A fire is prepared in the room in which delivery is to take place and is maintained for ten days.

As soon as delivery has occurred, the umbilical cord is cut with a bamboo 846
knife. The afterbirth is wrapped in the new mother's skirt and is buried at once in the cardinal direction associated with the day of the week of the baby's birth. The mother is fed an infusion of turmeric, and turmeric paste is rubbed all over her body. She is kept close to the nearby fire and made very warm. For three days she is carefully watched to prevent her from sleeping heavily in daylight hours.

The new mother is treated as a delicate invalid for about a month and, in
some cases, for as long as three months. She is fed only white rice and dried fish. [262]
A soup of garlic and banana stems is drunk to promote the flow of milk. She is [853]
not permitted to read, sew, or to do anything that will "arouse or stir the blood."

A very close connection is believed to exist between mother and child during 853
the nursing period. Certain observances are necessary. For example, the mother 262
must not eat tomatoes at this time, for they may appear in the baby's stools;
for the same reason, she must abstain from green vegetables. Any falling out of
her hair during the nursing period is said to be caused by bubbles blown into [827]
her by the nursing baby. To prevent the milk supply from drying up, the nursing mother avoids fruits of astringent quality, such as pomegranates and buds of the banyan. She must also take care not to allow milk to fall on the floor and dry.

The Burmese baby is weaned very gradually, beginning at the age of nine 862
months to a year in most cases. This is facilitated by the mother's application of some bitter substance to her breasts.

From infancy an attempt is made to mold the child's features. The ears are 856
pulled outward and the bridge of the nose is pulled upward, to prevent a flat 826
nose. A protuberant, prominent forehead is disliked; to prevent it people play at bumping foreheads with the child. To elongate its neck the child is held under the chin when lifted up from its bath. After being dressed its limbs are pulled straight and it is wrapped around, to insure straight growth. A baby girl's nipples are squeezed to prevent her having a large bosom.

Naming. The Burmese believe that one's name can influence the course of 551
events in life; therefore the name of a child is chosen with care. Burmese personal names consist of monosyllables that are selected in a rather intricate manner. The thirty-three characters of the alphabet are traditionally divided into seven groups, each corresponding to a day of the week. The first syllable in a personal name begins with a letter belonging to the group of letters assigned to the particular day of the week on which the child was born. Another syllable begins with a letter belonging to a day that is considered congenial to the day of birth. In the urban centers the tendency nowadays is to follow these rules only for the first term in the name. The syllables of the name stand for qualities of character, physical beauty, various gems, wealth or prosperity. Boys' names usually denote strength, success or brilliance, while grace, beauty, tenderness, and various precious stones are the most common meanings of girls' names. A son is never named syllable for syllable after his father, for this is considered disrespectful and an obstruction to each other's prosperity. There is also a tendency to avoid naming children after deceased relatives. Terms indicating large numbers, such as million, *lakh* (one hundred thousand), sometimes appear in the names of both sexes. An interesting contemporary example is the comic strip heroine of a leading Rangoon daily newspaper, Than Than, literally "Million Million."

The name of the child is rather informally conferred by means of a feast to 553